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NOTICE

On 1 June 1987 FBIS will begin publication of reorganized and renamed DAILY REPORTS. The following list details the changes being made in the eight volumes.

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| I. CHINA DAILY REPORT | Contents unchanged |
| II. EASTERN EUROPE DAILY REPORT | Contents unchanged |
| III. SOVIET UNION DAILY REPORT | Contents unchanged |
| IV. EAST ASIA DAILY REPORT | Renamed; formerly ASIA & PACIFIC DAILY REPORT; contents unchanged |
| V. NEAR EAST & SOUTH ASIA DAILY REPORT | Renamed; formerly MIDDLE EAST & AFRICA DAILY REPORT; contents include: <ul style="list-style-type: none">Middle East & South Asia ReviewInter-Arab AffairsIslamic AffairsPalestinian AffairsOPEC AffairsSouth Asian Regional AffairsArab Africa<ul style="list-style-type: none">AlgeriaChadEgyptLibyaMauritaniaMoroccoSudanTunisiaWestern SaharaArabian Peninsula<ul style="list-style-type: none">BahrainKuwaitOmanPDRYQatarSaudi ArabiaUnited Arab EmiratesYemen Arab RepublicIraqIsraelJordanLebanonSyriaSouth Asia<ul style="list-style-type: none">AfghanistanBangladeshIndiaIranMaldivesNepal & BhutanPakistanSri Lanka |
| VI. LATIN AMERICA DAILY REPORT | Contents unchanged |

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FBIS

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OW200127 Tokyo KYODO in English 0118 GMT 20 May 87

Gorbachev made the statement at a dinner in Moscow in honor of Vietnamese leader Nguyen Van Linh, here on his first visit to the Soviet Union since he took power last December.

Gorbachev said at the dinner meeting that if the United States totally abolishes its nuclear arms in Japan, South Korea and the Philippines and reduces its aircraft carriers to an agreed amount, there would be no obstacle for the solution to the INF problem, Soviet officials said.

This statement was taken as a response to NATO's call last Friday for total INF abolition in Asia and elsewhere as well as a British statement that Britain will accept the Soviet proposal for total INF abolition if such weapons are to be eradicated worldwide.

LD192011 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 19 May 87

[Talk by "international affairs journalist" Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin in connection with the upcoming conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states: "The Community of Socialist States: A Determining Factor in Strengthening Peace"]

[Text] The conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states, to be held in Berlin during the last 10 days of May, comes at a highly responsible moment in terms of world development. There have perhaps never before been such serious and realistic opportunities for achieving a major breakthrough toward practical solutions to cut the arms races, as exist today. I have in mind, of course, the problem of eliminating medium-range missiles in Europe and sharply limiting this class of weapons in the Asiatic part of our country, and on the territory of the United States.

The practical contours of this agreement were delineated clearly and absolutely back in Reykjavik, when understanding was reached between the Soviet Union and the United States on the necessity of eliminating this class of weapons from the European Continent and on substantially limiting this class of weapons, as I have already mentioned, in the Asiatic part of our territory, and correspondingly, on U.S. territory. Then, following the comparatively recent talks in Moscow, the negotiations that were conducted between U.S. Secretary of State Shultz and our minister of foreign affairs, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, and then following the meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the U.S. secretary of state, a composition such as this took shape:

As concerns medium-range missiles, the United States agrees with the Soviet Union's viewpoint. Yes, these missiles should be eliminated in Europe and sharply limited in the Asiatic part of our country and on the territory of the United States. However -- as always, the United States could not manage without a however -- they declared that the Soviet Union has an obvious advantage in operational and tactical missiles and that this problem must be resolved.

That is true; this problem, of course, must be resolved, and the Soviet Union said as much at once, even back in Reykjavik. As soon as we come to an agreement on the elimination of medium-range missiles, we will withdraw, by agreement with the Governments of the GDR and CSSR, our operational and tactical missiles from the territory of those countries. However, as concerns the other operational and tactical missiles -- we have only a few tens of these Soviet missiles -- we will enter into negotiations and, in the meantime, impose a freeze; we shall not increase the number of this type of weapon.

Talking to Shultz in Moscow, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev elucidated the Soviet position. He stated as follows: We are genuinely ready to freeze this type of weapon, and not just to freeze it, but immediately to enter into negotiations on its fate, with a view to eliminating this class of weapons, as well. The U.S. position, as can be judged from the statements of U.S. politicians and the U.S. press, however, looks otherwise. They say: Yes, we will eliminate medium-range missiles, but as for operational and tactical missiles, the United States first must consult its partners on the fate of these missiles, and then, the United States would find it preferable to have the right to provide itself with the same number of operational and tactical missiles in Europe as the Soviet Union has.

There is, of course, absolutely no logic here. If the Soviet Union proposes zero for both medium-range missiles and for operational and tactical missiles, why hold talks on any new levels?

This is how the picture looks with regard to this equation in Soviet-U.S. relations, but Europe and the European interest also come into this equation. Where the West European countries are concerned, the range of positions is fairly large. Many West European countries are voting with both hands for the Soviet initiative and the Soviet proposals, and are in solidarity with the Soviet position. At the same time, however, influential West European countries such as Britain, France, and West Germany obviously are having some doubts and are expressing huge numbers of provisos with regard to the fate of the operational and tactical missiles.

It is, however, a fairly interesting picture, all in all. The arguments put forward there are not, I would say, particularly weighty, but rather obstinate and tiresome arguments, clearly betraying unwillingness to go so far as the elimination of operational and tactical weapons. Well, what do they say? They say that thereby a breach would emerge between the strategic armaments of the United States and its European presence, that there would be no link-up here, and that thereby Europe would turn out to be defenseless. The arguments about some imaginary superiority on the part of the Soviet Union in conventional weapons are cited, of course, and so on and so forth.

In any event, however, everyone acknowledges, and it really can be said without any reservation whatsoever, that now the opportunity for a breakthrough and a major agreement on the elimination, essentially, of an entire class of weapons is a reality.

Now, when we have come -- in European policy and, indeed, in world policy as such -- to such a counterpoint when we can, in essence, advance to completely new horizons in political dialogue, to new horizons in the sense of what decisions can be made, here, of course, the significance of the socialist countries' coordination in foreign policy actions is enhanced sharply. In this light, the Berlin conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states offers the necessary possibility to analyze jointly the state of affairs that has come about and to decide what to do next. For a great deal of political work lies ahead, both with competent political circles of the West European states and, of course, with the West European public, which has been far from silent.

The contours of this work, the contours of possible solutions, are outlined in other initiatives, as well, not just by the Soviet Union but also by other Warsaw Pact members. The contours of possible advances also are outlined in the Jaruzelski plan, a very interesting plan, rich in content, which proposes a whole series of ideas within the framework of which further work can be done, both in terms of curtailing nuclear weapons in Europe, and in terms of eliminating and curtailing conventional weapons that are particularly accurate and have great strike capacity. Of great interest is our Polish comrade's idea about the obligatorily defensive nature of military doctrines, which would be used in the European Armed Forces, there is, of course, the valuable idea about very strict control [kontrol] over measures to be taken for the demilitarization of Europe.

So, ahead of us are very interesting events, very important events. In this regard, one can expect a great deal from the conference of the Political Consultative Committee. Incidentally, the Warsaw Pact members have always dealt primarily with European affairs, of course. European affairs are an organic part of the general world situation, and in this respect I think that the forthcoming work of the Political Consultative Committee conference and its decisions will have a beneficial effect on the process that is now gathering strength and about which we were, indeed, speaking at the beginning. I think that the decisions of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee will make it possible not to let slip a single opportunity to introduce new elements into European and world policy.

PAPER DECRIES NATO STANCE ON INF PROPOSALS

PM191427 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 May First Edition p 3

[International observer Manki Ponomarev article under the rubric "International Observer Answers Reader": "They Were Always Opposed"]

[Text] "There is one thing I do not understand about one question," Senior Lieutenant P. Korablev asks the editorial office. "Insofar as I remember, the 'zero option' on the so-called 'Euromissiles' was once put forward by the United States, and for a number of years the leaders of the NATO countries advocated it strongly. But now the Soviet Union is proposing to eliminate all medium-range missiles in Europe -- both Soviet and U.S. missiles -- and the West, judging by the press, is opposed to it. How can that be?"

The letter from reader Senior Lt. P. Korablev is answered by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA international observer Manki Ponomarev.

Yes indeed, Comrade Korablev, it was the United States which first put forward the proposal to agree to the "zero option" on medium-range missiles in Europe. It once raised a grand commotion over the proposal, bringing in its allies to support its campaign. The essence of the option boiled down to Washington's assurances that if the USSR scrapped its missiles -- which are called SS-20's and SS-4's in the West -- the NATO "arms upgrading" decision, that is, the decision to site U.S. Pershing-2 ballistic missiles and ground-launched cruise missiles on the territories of a number of West European countries, would not go ahead. They claimed that zero Soviet missiles would be matched by zero U.S. missiles.

At the time the Soviet Union raised extremely serious objections to the U.S. proposal. Since then many things have changed. But the hypocritical essence of the proponents of "arms upgrading" was revealed immediately after the Soviet Union proposed eliminating all U.S. and Soviet medium-range missiles in Europe over the next 5 years. Would that mean "zero" again, you might ask? Yes, zero. Only on a new basis -- on the basis of the Soviet program for the phased elimination of nuclear weapons by the start of the 21st century. On the basis of an understanding that global security and mankind's survival must be safeguarded by joint efforts on the part of various countries and peoples -- by political means, not weapons. On the basis of the clear prospects for a nonnuclear world that opened up in Reykjavik, where it was shown that nuclear disarmament is an entirely realistic policy.

The Soviet version of the zero option, which was set out in M.S. Gorbachev's 28 February 1987 statement and supplemented and developed in a number of his subsequent speeches, produced a truly enormous impression on world public opinion. The widespread approval and support for it are quite well known. It is important to stress something else: The Soviet initiative came as a real shock to the enemies of peace and security and all those who are still held prisoner to strongarm nuclear thinking.

"The Russians are coming, not with weapons and soldiers but with more and more disarmament proposals -- only that is not enough for the NATO military men and politicians," as the West German magazine STERN sarcastically assessed the prevailing situation. Yes, for how many years have the peoples of Europe and other continents been scared of the "Soviet threat." We have always said that this is a myth whipped up for malicious purposes; we do not intend to attack anyone, that is alien to our aspirations and our ideology. They did not believe us -- or pretended they did not -- and continued to scare others by shouting "the Russians are coming!..."

Those who have always striven not to weaken but to intensify nuclear confrontation in Europe and other parts of the world, never giving a thought to a genuine zero option, have been trying to go down the same primitive path -- seeking nonexistent obstacles. Yes, people in the West started to shout, we agree to zero medium-range missiles, but the Russians have an advantage in operational and tactical missiles. So, the Soviet Union replied, let's agree to eliminate that type of missile too. Let those be zero too -- a double zero option. But, we were asked, what about tactical nuclear means, battlefield missiles? We will embark on talks on this problem too, and we will solve it. But won't that leave the Warsaw Pact with an advantage in conventional means? Well, first, the Warsaw Pact Organization has no such superiority over the NATO bloc, and that is quite well known; and second, the Warsaw Pact countries have long been proposing to reduce armed forces and conventional arms on the European continent from the Atlantic to the Urals, but for some reason have never received a constructive and businesslike response to their initiative.

So what is going on? In the search for an answer let us turn to another West German magazine, this time DER SPIEGEL. "The Russians," a recent issue stated, "have put forward proposals that meet the Western allies' (sham) demands." It is that little word "sham," which the magazine emphatically brackets, that is the key to understanding

the position of those who are opposed: They stand not for agreement, but for preventing any agreement at all.

Incidentally, those who are opposed to agreement are not particularly sophisticated in their philosophizing. Take General B. Rogers, commander in chief of the NATO Allied Armed Forces: "Abandoning nuclear weapons will leave Europe defenseless." Take R. Ridgway, U.S. assistant secretary of state: "It is not a question of a nonnuclear Europe or of a NATO without nuclear weapons." Take L. Ruehl, state secretary at the FRG Defense Ministry: "There can be no question of the so-called zero option at the talks on medium-range nuclear weapons." The French newspaper LE MONDE went so far as to state that a possible agreement on medium-range missiles would be a..."new Munich" for Europe.

Those who hold such views can quite rightly be called representatives of "dead-end thinking." There are others too. They allegedly favor agreement. But they hedge it round with conditions and provisos aimed at preventing agreement. This relates to the proposals not to scrap the Pershing-2's but to reduce their range by removing one stage (incidentally, according to the manufacturer's figures, the second stage and accompanying guidance electronics could be refitted in just 48 hours); to transfer B-52 strategic bombers to Europe and to fit them (or ships off the coast of the continent) with cruise missiles; to introduce 300 units of neutron weapons into the FRG, and so on and so forth.

Those are the actions of people who are in no way either able or willing to eschew old thinking, strong-arm policies, and nuclear deterrence. There are other opponents of the zero option too, particularly in the capitals of certain NATO countries. They express fears that if the United States scrapped its medium- and shorter-range nuclear means in West Europe in agreement with the USSR, West Europe would allegedly be left defenseless in the face of the Soviets, since Washington would not use its own strategic means to defend it and would not want to place U.S. territory under the threat of a retaliatory strike.

Fears of this kind are very, very artificial. Not just because the Soviet Union does not intend to attack anyone: The United States by no means keeps its forces -- including its nuclear forces -- in Europe out of altruism, but for far-reaching purposes. It has seen and intends to continuing seeing the West European countries' territories as a springboard for attacking the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, and its troops are there as one of the most important tools in its strong-arm, imperial policy. That is why it does not intend to withdraw them.

Washington clings to "Atlantic solidarity" and strives to prevent any weakening of the NATO bloc. So it depicts its troops on the European Continent as guarantees of and hostages to this "solidarity." Pentagon chief C. Weinberger once said in a moment of frankness: "We keep our troops in Europe because it is in our own interests" -- the interests of the military-industrial complex and monopoly capital in both the United States itself and other NATO countries.

It is these interests that are expressed by those who have always been and continue to be opponents of the zero option -- an option that could and should be a landmark on the way to a nuclear-free Europe, and then to a nuclear-free world.

In conclusion then, Comrade Korablev, I would like to quote from M.S. Gorbachev's 28 February statement: "The Soviet leadership and the country's Defense Council, whose leadership is entrusted to me," he said, "constantly have the problem of the security of our country and our allies, and universal security at the center of their attention." And you, as an officer in the Soviet Armed Forces, know for yourself just how weighty those words are.

CMEA, ANGOLA SIGN DEVELOPMENT AGREEMENT

LD160149 Moscow TASS in English 2048 GMT 15 May 87

[Text] Moscow May 15 TASS -- The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the People's Republic of Angola have made their first step in the development of mutual cooperation on a multilateral basis. More than 20 major projects have been planned in that country. And the CMEA member-countries will take part in their implementation along the lines on which agreement was reached.

As a TASS correspondent was told by Leszek Konzela, executive secretary of the CMEA side in the mixed commission for cooperation with Angola, who has just returned from Luanda, all projects are of great significance for Angola's socio-economic development. Among these projects is the creation of a fishing industry complex in Namib Province designed to improve food supplies for the population. The USSR acting as a coordinator for that project, is now negotiating with other CMEA member-countries on the share of work in the construction of the complex and equipping it with the necessary technology each side will take upon itself. The pooling and coordination of efforts will make it possible to reduce the time of construction, make a rational use of transport for the delivery of goods.

The CMEA member-countries will assist Angola on the basis of an agreement in building mining industry enterprises, in setting up stock-raising farms, in equipping agricultural technical services. They will also assist in expanding and supplying three hospitals and a medical rehabilitation complex in Luanda with the modern equipment. Aid is continuing in the training of personnel for the young republic.

By concluding an agreement on cooperation with CMEA in October 1986, Angola has opened up for herself a way for broadening business relations with the member-countries of that international organisation. Until now they were maintained only on a bilateral basis. True, even that was of great significance for the newly independent state: Thus more than 100 industrial and other projects have been built or are under construction in Angola with the assistance of the CMEA member-states. The projects are built as a rule with loans granted by the CMEA member countries on easy terms.

CMEA'S SYCHOV CALLS FOR RELATIONS WITH EEC

LD181218 Moscow TASS in English 1137 GMT 18 May 87

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS -- Vyacheslav Sychoy, secretary of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, has declared for establishing official relations between CMEA and the EEC at the earliest date.

Addressing a press conference here today, he optimistically evaluated prospects for establishing such relations. Their lack is, in his view, an anachronism.

The progress, which has manifested itself in establishing mutual relations between CMEA and the EEC, is predetermined, in his view, by a number of circumstances, above all by the fact that today the world as a whole and Europe in particular are more than ever interested in building up confidence between states with different social systems.

Then, in the conditions of the mutual interdependence in economic development growing world-wide, the objective need particularly manifests itself in Europe for a further deepening of the international division of labour on the scale of the whole continent.

At last, there is closeness in the understanding by the sides of the character of the document establishing the above-said official relations. Its draft has been proposed and both sides are expressing preparedness to sign it after the final coordination.

East-West economic and scientific technical cooperation in Europe is a reality, which has taken shape, Vyacheslav Sychoy noted. The establishment of relations between CMEA, and EEC, he added, will leave a positive impact on a further development of trade relations between the two parts of Europe. Besides, it will open a broad road towards developing cooperation in the scientific-technical field, the power industry, transport, environmental protection, joint economic forecasting and statistics. Broad perspectives for all-European cooperation are opened by joint enterprise in setting up joint ventures.

Vyacheslav Sychoy stressed that the sides have practically reached agreement on the joint declaration on establishing official relations. Yet there are outstanding issues. The process of establishing official relations should be paralleled also with talks on establishing bilateral relations. The signing of a joint declaration is just a start for normalising relations between the two groups.

The task, in the opinion of the CEMA secretary, is to implement in the practices of all-European cooperation the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-political systems.

Further Details

LD181753 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 18 May 87

[Text] The state of negotiations to establish relations between CEMA and the EEC was the topic of a press conference held today in Moscow by the CEMA Secretariat. CEMA Secretary Sychoy noted that while there had been decades of uncertainty, the issue had entered a practical phase. He added:

[Begin Sychoy recording] At the last meeting in March the draft declaration on establishing official relations between our two organizations was discussed, and although during that March meeting it was not yet possible to agree on a definitive text for the declaration, we are nonetheless optimistic about a successful conclusion to these talks. An accord has been reached to the effect that the process of establishing official relations between CEMA and the EEC should parallel talks to establish bilateral relations between individual CEMA and EEC countries. This type of parallelism is already being implemented.

In the draft joint declaration we are deliberately making imprecise the issue of the areas of cooperation between CEMA and the EEC for the moment -- these areas will be the object of official talks once such mutual relations have been established.

We are convinced that it is only now that there is a genuine opportunity for East-West relations to experience mutually beneficial cooperation in the areas of manufacturing, science, and technology commercial exchange and the social sphere. The task now lies, as CEMA has emphasized many times, in realizing in practice throughout European cooperation, the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. After all, we have no logical alternative to this. [end recording]

CEMA OFFICIAL ON ENERGY, NUCLEAR SAFETY

LD181818 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT 18 May 87

[Text] Bucharest May 18 TASS -- TASS correspondent Yuriy Bausin reports:

The growth rate for the consumption of energy resources in the European countries grouped in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) -- without the Soviet Union -- have been almost double the rate for the production of energy in these countries over recent years, according to Academician Valeriy Legasov.

He is the scientific supervisor of efforts to develop the nuclear power industry in these countries at a priority pace under a comprehensive program for their scientific and technological progress, which covers the period till the year 2000.

Speaking in a TASS interview, Academician Legasov said that although the CMEA countries account for more than a quarter of the world production of energy resources, these nations, most notably the Soviet Union, now have to go over to tapping geological reserves that call for a sharp increase in material inputs.

In these conditions, special attention belongs, along with a vigorous policy of energy conservation, to the nuclear power industry, he said, adding that a charted program for developing this industry in the CMEA countries till the year 2000 will make it possible to save 400 or 500 million tons of organic fuel.

Academician Legasov delivered the main report at the 16th session in Bucharest on May 12 and 13 of the intergovernmental commission of the CMEA countries and Yugoslavia on the fulfillment of agreements for the multilateral international specialization and integration of production in the manufacture of equipment for nuclear power stations and for the reciprocal supplies of such equipment.

He paid much attention to the issue of increasing the safety level at nuclear power stations, which was among the principal items on the agenda of the meeting.

With a view to further improving the construction of nuclear power stations and stepping up related research, the commission formed a council of Scientific Supervisors including representatives of each country.

Multilateral specialized and joint production schemes are now the main tools of cooperation used by the CMEA countries in nuclear power engineering and the construction and running of nuclear power stations, which continues to broaden and develop.

JOINT EFFORT IN FIGHTING FOREST FIRES SUGGESTED

OW191340 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2300 GMT 18 May 87

[Viktor Konnov commentary from the 'Novosti' newscast]

[Text] A major forest fire continues to rage in northeastern China.

[Konnov] Hello, Comrades: The fire started on 6 May in one of the lumbering establishments in the Daxinganling range. It was soon established that it started from a spark that had originated during the work of an electrical machine for cutting shrubs. In less than a fortnight the raging fire has resulted in the loss of 162 lives. Another 100-odd people have received burns of various degrees. More than 50,000 people have been deprived of shelter. Grain stores, fuel dumps, more than 200,000 cubic meters of lumber, machinery, and equipment have been destroyed. Total losses from the fire have already been estimated to be nearly 500 million yuan. But the fire continues to rage. It has engulfed more than 400,000 hectares of the forest.

More than 20,000 soldiers of the Chinese Army have been sent to fight the fires. There were hopes for a reduction in the strength of the wind and for relatively low temperatures -- in some places it was as low as minus 10 degrees. Over the last weekend, however, a strong wind restarted in the region of the forest fire. Centers of the fire, which had already been put out, flared up again. They threatened the highway used to transport the firefighters and necessary materials and medicines.

All China is following the fight against the fires with keen attention. Victims are being rendered necessary aid. They are being supplied with food, tents, home utensils, and clothing. Li Peng, member of CPC Central Committee Politburo and vice chairman of the PRC State Council, visited the disaster area.

Fire is always a common disaster, whether it is your house or your neighbor's house that is on fire. And forest fires sometimes do not recognize any borders. As you know, a struggle with fires is presently being waged in the Soviet Transbaykal region.

This is why it is proper to recall the idea that has already been expressed -- that some large problems of cooperation between our two countries are literally knocking at the door. It seems that fighting forest fires by joint efforts of the USSR and the PRC is one of such problems.

JAPANESE ARRESTED FOR GIVING U.S. DATA TO USSR, PRC

OW200025 Tokyo KYODO in English 0007 GMT 20 May 87

[Text] Tokyo, May 20 KYODO -- Tokyo police Tuesday arrested four Japanese, including an employee at a U.S. air base in Tokyo, for allegedly passing technical documents of U.S. military aircraft to a Soviet trade representative office staff member.

The Japanese group also sold such documents to a Chinese source, police said.

The documents were technical orders, including those about the sophisticated F-16 Falcon fighter aircraft, police said.

Arrested were Hiroshi Osumi, 65, an employee in the technical library at the U.S. Yokota Air Base in Fussa on the outskirts of Tokyo; Masateru Tachibana, 59, a military affairs expert; Hiromi Date, 62, an adviser at the China technical center in Tokyo; and Sadao Goto, 60, an executive of Sanko Company, a trading firm, according to police.

After receiving information from the U.S. Air Force on a suspected spy case developing at the air base, Tokyo police started the investigation and arrested Date Tuesday evening when he attempted to pass documents to a Soviet official.

Date was seen passing them to V.B. Aksenov, 35, an official at the Soviet trade representative office in Tokyo, at Inokashira Park in Musashino, on the outskirts of Tokyo, police said.

Police allowed Aksenov to return home after questioning him at the park.

Date's arrest led to the arrests of the three others.

Police also searched the suspects' homes and confiscated technical orders on the F-16 fighters, transport planes and other aircraft, radio receivers and tapes with Morse code signals recorded.

The four Japanese admitted their involvement in passing the U.S. documents to the Soviet Union, police said.

According to police, Osumi stole the documents from the U.S. air base in March and sold them to Tachibana.

Tachibana took copies from the documents and sold the copies to Date and Goto, police said.

In addition to attempting to pass the documents to Aksenov, Date also contacted A.I. Sokolov, first secretary at the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo, police said.

Police suspect that Date was a spy for the Soviets and received considerable money for his efforts.

Police also said Goto sold such documents to a Chinese source.

PAKISTANI FOREIGN MINISTER IN U.S. DISCUSSING DRA

LD191001 Moscow TASS in English 0827 GMT 19 May 87

[Text] Washington May 19 TASS -- TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin reports:

The negotiations between U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Pakistani Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan were held here on Monday. According to a State Department spokesman, the minister arrived in the USA for "regular consultations" and special attention should not be given to the time of the visit. Nothing is said about the particulars of the talks.

Press reports indicate that the Reagan administration's attempts to present the negotiations of the Pakistani minister in Washington as "ordinary" consultations are aimed at diverting the public's attention from the importance of problems under consideration, which overstep the limits of bilateral relations. It is not accidental that the Pakistani minister intends, after the talks with Shultz, to meet Vice President George Bush, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Congress leaders. Information leaked to the press shows that Yaqub Khan discusses in Washington how to step up terrorist attacks of Afghan bandits operating from Pakistan. The sides also consider the question of increasing U.S. military aid to the Islamabad regime.

It is indicative that shortly before Yaqub Khan arrived in Washington, the public had learnt about a letter by Pakistani Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo to President Ronald Reagan, where Islamabad asked the USA to supply it with AWACS planes, proposing in exchange assistance in increasing terrorist activities by dushman bandits. Administration officials admit that this question has been resolved in principle. The only unsettled question is what specific radar system will be delivered to Islamabad, as well as technicalities of the deal: On lease or sale terms.

PRAVDA REPORTS DRA LEADERS' MEETINGS WITH ARISTOV

PM191501 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 May 87 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Minister Received"]

[Text] Kabul, 18 May -- Najib, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, has received Foreign Trade Minister B.I. Aristov, who is on a working visit to the DRA at the invitation of the Afghan Government. Matters involving development and strengthening of Soviet-Afghan trade and economic relations were discussed.

Foreign Trade Minister Aristov was also received by Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand, member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the DRA Council of Ministers.

[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1830 on 17 May, reporting on Aristov's visit to the DRA, notes: An intergovernment agreement has been signed in Kabul on the USSR extending economic aid to friendly Afghanistan in 1987.]

Further Reportage

For further reportage on the visit to Afghanistan by Foreign Trade Minister Boris Ivanovich Aristov, see the Afghanistan section of the 18 May South Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

UZBEK SSR FIRST SECRETARY RECEIVES AFGHAN DELEGATION

LD140928 Tashkent Domestic Service in Russian 1210 GMT 11 May 87

[Excerpt] Comrade Usmanhodzhayev, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, today received a delegation from the northern provinces of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan which is currently on a visit to the republic. The delegation is headed by Mohammad Sharif, plenipotentiary of the PDPA Central Committee for the northern zone [title as heard]. [passage omitted]

TASS CITES DRA LEADERS' REPLIES AT PDPA MEETINGS

Najibullah Remarks

LD122159 Moscow TASS in English 12112 GMT 12 May 87

[Text] Kabul May 12 TASS -- Replies by Najib, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, to questions put forth and discussed in the recent past by PDPA members during meetings of primary party organizations, were published here today. The Afghan leader pointed out that the process of national reconciliation in the country is picking up steam. This is the only way leading to peace, happiness and quiet life for all Afghans, he said.

National reconciliation is a strategic aim necessary for all the people and the party as their political vanguard. The main thing is to strive everywhere for a ceasefire, to conclude an agreement with the opposing side and to exert efforts at healing wounds inflicted by the eight-year fratricidal war. Now this is the most important task, Najib pointed out.

He pointed out that the party was realizing its policy in line with unity of patriotic forces incorporating representatives of all national and social groups, segments of population and organizations, all who make up the present Afghan society, except its irreconcilable and active enemies. The Afghan leader pointed out that the proclamation of the policy of national reconciliation was in no way a manifestation of weakness. On the contrary, never before had a single Afghan Government had more numerous and better equipped armed forces than our one. "We could step up attacks on the enemy and continue the war to the complete victory. But this is not the aim of our revolution, our party and power," said Najib.

He pointed out that over 4,000 representatives of the opposite side had joined the extraordinary commissions on reconciliation. This is the characteristic feature of the coalition rule which is being developing in Afghanistan from bottom to the top.

Under the conditions of national reconciliation the party is seeking to draw opposition forces into running the country and to go further even to forming a coalition government. "We have declared and declare again that the PDPA does not intend to have a monopoly on running the state. But this does not mean at all that the party will renounce the policy towards construction of free, sovereign and blossoming Afghanistan, from the policy towards improving people's living standards," said the general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee.

Touching on Afghan-Soviet relations, Najib pointed out that they had risen to a qualitatively new level. "We have traversed a way from goodneighbourliness to friendship and fraternity.

"We have marched and will march an honest and clean road of friendship with the northern neighbour. This road was bequeathed to us by our fathers and grandfathers, and we shall not betray their hopes," said the Afghan leader.

Keshtmand Remarks

LD141525 Moscow TASS in English 1007 GMT 14 May 87

[Text] Kabul May 14 TASS -- Replies by Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and chairman of the Council of Ministers, are published here to questions raised at party meetings in primary organizations of the PDPA.

Touching on the new labour bill whose draft is introduced for the consideration of the Revolutionary Council of Afghanistan, S.A. Keshtmand noted that the bill would consolidate progressive principles of the state's approach to the rights of waged and salaried workers, creation of normal working conditions, acquisition of free higher and specialized secondary education, participation in running production and society and to improvement of the social maintenance system.

Dealing with the budget policy of the state, he pointed out that it was being drafted under the difficult conditions of the undeclared war imposed on the country by imperialism. However, along with great outlays from the state budget for defence needs, considerable funds are appropriated for the social and economic development of Afghan provinces. Housing construction is progressing successfully.

S.'A. Keshtmand pointed out that the government's activities on rendering all-round assistance to Afghan families returning home from abroad were assuming special significance now that the policy of national reconciliation was being translated into life. They should become full-fledged citizens of the republic and actively participate in the economic and social life of the country.

DRA COMMISSION AMNESTIES PRISONERS WHO 'REPENT'

PM131143 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 May 87 First Edition p 5

[TASS dispatch under rubric: "News from the Teletype"]

[Text] Kabul -- A routine session of the Presidium of the Supreme Extraordinary Commission for National Reconciliation in Afghanistan has decided on an additional amnesty and a reduction in terms of imprisonment for certain categories of persons who repent of crimes against the state.

DOBRYNIN OFF ON 'FRIENDLY WORKING VISIT' TO INDIA

LD200839 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 20 May 87

[Text] Comrade [Anatoliy] Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, left Moscow today for Delhi on a friendly working visit at the invitation of the Indian Government and the leadership of the Indian National Congress (I) Party. Comrade Dobrynin was seen off at the airport by Comrade [Viktor] Nikonov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade [Georgiy] Korniyenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the International Department at the CPSU Central Committee and also Budhwar, Indian temporary charge d'affaires in the USSR.

SPLITTIST, SUBVERSIVE FORCES THREATEN INDIA

PM151431 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 May 87 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Korovikov dispatch: "Acute Confrontation"]

[Text] Delhi, 7 May — Last Sunday the Indian president's secretariat issued an unusual bulletin for the press. It stated the following: "The president has noted with great concern and chagrin the appearance in newspapers of various reports and commentaries persistently maintaining that the president intends to remove R. Gandhi from the post of prime minister.... The president feels that such reports and commentaries concerning such a serious matter as the prime minister's replacement can no longer go unrefuted. Therefore the president wishes to declare most categorically that 'such speculations are totally groundless.'"

That brief report ended the rumors which had been proliferating in the past 2 months and which had seriously worried the Indian public. It is no secret that, in addition to external military and political pressure, the plans to destabilize India counted on a confrontation between the president and the prime minister. In mid-March the INDIAN EXPRESS published a private letter from Zail Singh to Rajiv Gandhi, which had come to it through unknown channels. It expressed the president's desire to obtain more detailed information on the state of affairs in the country. The publication was followed by a noisy campaign in the press and also in certain political circles. Their representatives perceived a power crisis (!) in the situation which had come about. Propaganda speculations took every advantage of the approaching election of a new president. As is known, Zail Singh's 5-year term in that post ends at the end of July.

Then reports of secret deals between companies -- foreign and Indian -- and the authorities to purchase military hardware from the FRG and Sweden followed one after another, as though synchronized. Although the government issued assurances regarding a careful investigation into all dubious operations and punishment for the guilty persons, the opposition demanded the prime minister's resignation and even his removal by presidential authority. That frenzied campaign was mounted against a background of serious complications in the country's internal political life. Bloody clashes provoked by religious fanatics occurred between Hindus and Muslims in Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, and certain other states. The protracted crisis in Punjab is persisting.

As a resolution of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress (I) Party pointed out, external forces hostile to India have virtually closed ranks with internal reaction and are threatening the republic's democratic constitutional foundations. In this connection the ruling party's leadership pointed to the need to rebuff subversive forces. At a session of the two-party coordinating committee the leaders of the Communist Party of India and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) condemned onslaughts against the prime minister and urged democratic forces to be vigilant and strengthen the power of parliament. The left-wing democratic parties and also the Indian National Congress (I) are conducting mass political campaigns during which splittist forces are being rebuffed.

KHARKOV ON NEED FOR CAMBODIAN SETTLEMENT

LD141457 Moscow TASS in English 1321 GMT 14 May 87

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS -- Follows commentary by Vasiliy Kharkov, TASS political news analyst:

The opponents of a Kampuchean settlement in the interests of peace and stability in the region are starting a fresh malicious action. They are planning to hold in July a so-called "International Conference on Kampuchea", which its sponsors wish to use for keeping up confrontation with the countries of Indochina. Vietnam has already given a principled evaluation of that move. A spokesman for the SRV Foreign Ministry issued a statement on Wednesday, saying that the holding of such a conference is crying interference in the home affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea hampering a political settlement of the situation around Kampuchea and building up tensions in the region.

Now certain activeness is observed in the search of ways for a just political settlement of the problems in connection with the situation around Kampuchea. There is a strengthening conviction that dialogue is of increasingly important significance for drawing up mutually acceptable agreements, for mutual understanding and cooperation. It is precisely on the basis of that process and non-interference from the outside that the vital problems of South-East Asia can and must be settled.

Six years ago, in July 1981, a farcical "International Conference on Kampuchea" was staged as a result of machinations by some states. Many non-aligned nations refused to attend it and describe it as an encroachment upon the sovereignty and independence of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, as an instrument of maintaining tensions in the region.

Since then, the situation in Kampuchea itself has further stabilised, its international positions have considerably strengthened, albeit hostile forces continue blocking the admission of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to the U.N., where its legitimate seat is occupied by the Pol Pot genocide regime. The constructive efforts by the states of Indochina, directed at normalising the situation in South-East Asia, at turning it into a zone of peace, stability and cooperation enjoy increasing international support.

The situation around Kampuchea can be settled only by political methods and in this respect the countries of Indochina are taking specific steps. The PRC is prepared to enter into talks with various Khmer opposition groups, or individuals on condition that the criminal Pol Pot clique is removed. In their turn, some ASEAN member countries are now more explicitly expressing their negative stand on the Pol Pot clique.

This year the next, sixth, withdrawal of a group of Vietnamese people's volunteers from Kampuchea is to take place, and they are to be completely withdrawn by the year of 1990. These are not empty promises but a firm decision of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

Thus, the states of Indochina and the ASEAN member countries have an opportunity to settle the problems, which arose around Kampuchea. The Soviet Union will further contribute to arranging for and successfully developing the dialogue in that direction. A statement to this effect was again made by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in the course of the talks held in Moscow with Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila.

SOKOLOV ARRIVAL, ACTIVITIES IN BUDAPEST NOTED

LD192100 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 19 May 87

[Text] The USSR defense minister, Marshal of the Soviet Union Sokolov, arrived in Budapest today on an official, friendly visit. On the same day Comrade Sokolov laid a wreath at the memorial to Hungarian heroes who fell in the struggle for the freedom and independence of their homeland. On Freedom Square in Budapest a wreath was laid at the monument to the Soviet soldier-liberators.

GDR'S HONECKER SUPPORTS USSR ARMS PROPOSALS

LD182203 Moscow TASS in English 1854 GMT 18 May 87

[Text] Berlin May 18 TASS -- The GDR supports the Soviet Union's new disarmament proposals which indicate the way to a world free from nuclear weapons, said Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, chairman of the State Council of the GDR. He received here today Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand Sitthi Sawetsila now on an official visit to the GDR.

An agreement on elimination of all medium-range missiles in Europe would be the first important step towards elimination of all systems of mass destruction. The GDR expects the United States and West European states to display a constructive approach and meet these proposals half way, he stressed.

The German Democratic Republic is naturally interested in prompt results. The GDR's proposals for establishing in Central Europe a zone free from chemical weapons, and a corridor free from nuclear weapons are also aimed at strengthening international security and building up confidence.

The GDR leader said that there were no international problems that cannot be settled through negotiations. He expressed the hope that the contacts between the socialist states of Indochina and the ASEAN member-states would be successfully developing and exert a positive impact on peace and detente in Southeast Asia.

BULGARIA'S ZHIVKOV SEES SUPREME SOVIET'S ORLOV

PM181359 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 May 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Cooperation Strengthening"]

[Text] Sofia, 16 May -- T. Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, today received V.P. Orlov, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. He heads a delegation of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, which is participating in the 10th Bulgarian Fatherland Front's Congress.

During a cordial friendly conversation questions of bilateral cooperation, including that between the two countries' mass social organizations, were examined.

P. Kubadinski, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the National Council of the Bulgarian Fatherland Front, participated in the meeting.

PPR LEADERSHIP RESPONSIVE TO READERS' COMPLAINTS

PM131343 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 May 87 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent O. Losoto dispatch: "'This Worries Us...' What Poles Criticize, Propose, and Advise in Their Letters Addressed to the PZPR Central Committee and the TRYBUNA LUDU Editorial Office"]

[Text] Warsaw, May [dateline as published] -- Several issues of TRYBUNA LUDU have carried extensive selections of readers' letters under the general heading "This Worries Us, This Must Be Changed." The newspaper writes that the PZPR Central Committee, the Central Committee first secretary personally, and TRYBUNA LUDU are receiving letters which voice concern and, moreover, indignation. People are concerned about mismanagement at individual enterprises, the squandering of public funds, and the clumsy and inefficient working of the administrative apparatus both locally and at the center. At the same time, the letter writers point to phenomena of concern to the public such as drunkenness, the slackening of social and labor discipline, speculation, and others.

"I do not know whether you will want to read this letter," a worker began his appeal to the PZPR Central Committee. "I am not and never have been in the party, nor am I a trade union member. I am writing because I am a Pole and, I believe, not a bad employee or, more accurately, worker. Although a nonparty person, I attentively follow all speeches and articles on the subject of changes, both economic and political. I know all the documents of the 10th PZPR Congress as well as any party member. Therefore, I must say what concerns my comrades and me. You frequently say and write that much has changed in the party and that you will do everything to ensure that August 1980 is not repeated. When I hear this, I acknowledge that those who would like to finally instill order are right. But then I come to work and talk with my colleagues: Alas, not everything is yet being done the way we would like it.... I work at a small enterprise called the 'Cinema Scientific Research Center.' It employs 280 people. No more than 130 are employed directly in production and in auxiliary services. The rest work only with their minds. There is a director and three deputies, as well as approximately 35 people in other leading posts, who receive an additional wage supplement for 'leadership.' We had hoped that, as in other collectives, our administrative apparatus would be gradually reduced. This process was begun in 1985. They started...with the cleaning ladies. The process did not extend any higher. And recently another post of...deputy director was introduced!"

Letter writers from Walbrzych, Rabka, Radziechowy, and other cities and villages continue, as it were, the conversation begun by the worker and share their thoughts on the situation in the economy, on the need to improve labor organization, and on enhancing responsibility for the assigned task and a thrifty attitude to public property.

"We need a firm principle: decent pay for good work. If you want to draw water, dig a well, goes a folk saying. If you work badly, you must get corresponding pay. I am convinced that my remarks are correct. Why must one who works conscientiously receive the same as one who stands at the beer booth during working hours...." (Wladyslaw Czyz, Walbrzych).

"I once read in TRYBUNA LUDU," Jozef Pel writes from Rabka, "that ships with 17,000 tonnes of rice on board were anchored off ports. But it was not being allowed into the trade network -- it proved to be contaminated. [paragraph continues]

The question arises: Who made those purchases and imported substandard rice into the country instead of produce of the necessary quality, with the result that the country incurred a sizeable loss? This question is all the more natural because this is not the first time that such a thing has happened: Oranges were imported which were in a bad state even before they were unloaded and were quite unfit for sale when delivered to the stores. Quite green and unripe lemons were purchased. But no one was punished. At any rate, the public does not know about this."

Readers cite instances of callousness, bureaucratism, and red tape. Here is one example: "I recently visited a state establishment. Palm trees, carpets.... The higher the official, the more richly the office is furnished and the costlier the carpet. I toured the offices, trying to settle the matter of my roof, which has been leaking for several years. I was struck by the contrast between those luxurious offices and my inadequate roof. Perhaps my impression would have been somewhat different if the urgent matter had been resolved quickly and efficiently. But they said there were no materials or money. In that case, why irritate people with this mansion?"

And here is an extract from a letter to the PZPR Central Committee: "Generally speaking, there are too many privileges of all kinds. People make use of this, particularly those who have been accustomed for many years to bypassing instructions and adapting them for their own benefit (privileges in taxes, rent, the use of transport, free medicines, official cars, various additional payments, and so forth). I am in favor of replacing people in leading posts more frequently; of more frequently promoting young, capable people, regardless of party membership."

Many letter writers propose eliminating unprofitable enterprises and using the work force so released where it is most needed, maintaining subsidies only in health care and education, abolishing the regulation of all products, paying well for work that is worth it, struggling vigorously against all kinds of violations.

By publishing these letters addressed to the PZPR Central Committee and TRYBUNA LUDU the editors of the party organ have begun a great action reflecting the newspaper's cooperation with readers under the motto "To release public energy." TRYBUNA LUDU has made its pages available for an open, bold, and critical discussion of all phenomena which arouse a public protest and of the ways to eliminate them. With redoubled energy, the newspaper writes, we will help to realize the aims and tasks named by our party in its program and the 10th PZPR Congress decisions.

Addressing a session of the Economic Reform Commission, W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, elucidated in detail the main directions of the party's activity leading to the speediest qualitative changes in the economy and the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. The stake is on strengthening the independence, self-management, and self-financing of enterprises and on enhancing their responsibility for economic results.

The management system will be further improved, with a reduction in the number of intermediate components and levels, and the system of control in the state will be simplified and better coordinated. The certification process at enterprises will be broadened and deepened, and the role of people's councils and self-management organs will increase. The Polish Council of Ministers has resolved to reduce by at least 20 percent the number of posts of deputy ministers and departmental directors of ministries and central departments and also to limit the number of deputy voivodas and presidents of voivodship-level cities. [paragraph continues]

Equally, it is proposed to limit leading posts in establishments subordinate to ministries and departments. The organizational structure of state administration locally will be adapted to the specific conditions and requirements of each region.

According to a PZPR Central Committee Politburo proposal, urgent measures will be taken to enhance discipline, instill order, and beef up the policy of thrift. In particular, there will be a reduction in the number of official vehicles and staff drivers in state establishments. It is proposed to remove a proportion of direct telephones from establishments where it is possible to get a line out through the switchboard. The telephone lines thus released will be transferred to health care and social aid establishments and also to the persons in greatest need of them. Official business trips abroad, which sometimes turn into tourist excursions at state expense, will be placed under strict control.

Today Poland is taking the course of radical transformations in all spheres of life and of making wide, creative use of the potential enshrined in socialism.

MONTENEGRO'S VUKADINOVIC COMMENTS ON USSR TALKS

PM171625 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 May 87 First Edition p 5

[Interview with V. Vukadinovic, president of the Executive Council of the SFRY Socialist Republic of Montenegro Assembly, by A. Nazarov: "Aiming for New Heights" -- place and date of interview not specified]

[Text] V. Vukadinovic, president of the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro (SFRY) Assembly, who is visiting our country at the invitation of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, is leaving for home today. He gave an interview to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA at the end of his friendly visit.

[Nazarov] During the meeting with V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, you examined specific measures for the further expansion and development of the traditional friendly relations between the RSFSR and Montenegro. Could you speak about them in some greater detail?

[Vukadinovic] We already have a cooperation program which is at the stage of implementation. Indeed, the purpose of our visit was to jointly review its implementation. We drew the conclusion that it is successful. But we must not rest satisfied with what has been achieved. And we prepared for signing a new program covering the next period. It will devote more attention to economic cooperation. Nor did we overlook questions of education, culture, science, and health care research in particular. During the meeting with Comrade Vorotnikov we had an extensive exchange of opinions on topical problems of social life in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, in Montenegro and the RSFSR. It was very useful. As for specific issues, they were numerous and I simply cannot list them all now. There is one thing I would like to stress: We drew the conclusion that there are opportunities to increase reciprocal turnover and create joint enterprises.

[Nazarov] During the meetings in the Soviet Union you spoke about restructuring. How is this process perceived in Yugoslavia?

[Vukadinovic] We studied with keen interest the information about the process of restructuring in the USSR. I believe the most important element to be the fact that it has spread to virtually all spheres of Soviet society's life. The facts we learned indicate that certain specific results have already been achieved. Profound transformations, of course, are accompanied by certain difficulties. But persistent and patient work -- an absolute condition which you apply -- must lead to success. Major changes cannot be effected immediately, but the policy of restructuring is already highly important, both for the Soviet Union and for other countries.

[Nazarov] What do you see as the real fruit of your current visit?

[Vukadinovic] As regards our plans, I am an optimist. But it is necessary to work. As time passes, we will be able to say that we have achieved something. All the conditions exist to implement the suggestions made during the meetings in the Soviet Union. And the guarantee of our success is provided by the mutual desire to work together.

Vukadinovic Departs

LD151016 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0714 GMT 15 May 87

[Text] V. Vukadinovic, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the SFRY's Socialist Republic of Montenegro, left Moscow today for home. He was in the USSR on a friendly visit at the invitation of the Government of the Russian Federation.

Vukadinovic was seen off at the airport by Comrade Vorotnikov and other officials. Among those who saw him off was SFRY Ambassador to the USSR Veres.

ANTONOV SIGNS COOPERATION PROTOCOL IN BUCHAREST

LD201035 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2149 GMT 19 May 87

[Unscheduled newscast; announcer-read report over video]

[Text] There was a meeting in Bucharest on 18-19 May of the chairmen of the Soviet and Romanian sections of the intergovernmental Soviet-Romanian commission on economic and scientific-technical cooperation. The Soviet delegation was headed by Comrade Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Romanian by Comrade Ancuta, deputy prime minister of the republic's government. There was a discussion of the plan for measures to implement the long-term program for the development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the USSR and Romania in the period to the year 2000, and also of questions connected with the expansion and deepening of economic relations in the light of summit level accords. A protocol was signed on the results of the work done.

Comrade Antonov was received by Nicolae Ceaucescu.

SOLOMENTSEV ATTENDS 12TH KKE CONGRESS IN ATHENS

Airport Send-Off

PM121325 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "At the Greek Communist Congress"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by M.S. Solomentsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, left Moscow for Athens 11 May to participate in the work of the 12th Greek Communist Party Congress.

The delegation comprised Ye.S. Stroyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Orel CPSU Obkom, and Yu.A. Krasin, rector of the Institute of Social Sciences.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by G.A. Aliyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; I.S. Gustov, member of the CPSU Central Committee; and V.S. Shaposhnikov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department.

Arrival in Athens

LD111721 Moscow TASS in English 1706 GMT 11 May 87

[Text] Athens May 11 TASS -- A delegation of the CPSU led by member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Party Control Committee at the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Solomentsev arrived here today to participate in the work of the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Greece.

At Athens Ellinikon Airport the delegation was met by General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece Kharilaos Florakis, other representatives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece.

USSR Ambassador to Greece Viktor Stukalin was among the welcoming party.

CPSU Greetings to KKE Congress

PM121547 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 87 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee greetings message to 12th Greek Communist Party Congress]

[Text] To the 12th Greek Communist Party [KKE] Congress

Dear Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee ardently greets the 12th Congress of the fraternal KKE and wishes its delegates fruitful work.

Your congress has assembled at a complex period of history. Time persistently demands new approaches to the use of all existing opportunities for curbing the forces of reaction and war. [paragraph continues]

However great the threat to peace, it can and must be averted. Mankind is now faced with the task of preventing a nuclear catastrophe and saving civilization and life itself on earth, which have been jeopardized by the rash, aggressive, militarist course of imperialist circles in the United States and NATO.

The CPSU, true to Leninist foreign policy principles, persistently and consistently strives to solve the key problems of the day -- building a nuclear-free world, stopping the arms race, creating a reliable and comprehensive international security system, and removing violence from relations among states. The essence of the necessary breakthrough in the life of the world community lies, in our view, in the molding and dissemination of new thinking that accords with the realities of today's nuclear-missile, space, and computer age, and of a new policy aimed at the genuine humanization of international relations.

Soviet Communists make a high assessment of the great contribution made by Greek Communists to the European peoples' antiwar movement and of their consistent struggle to create a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans, remove U.S. military bases from Greek soil, withdraw the country from NATO, and defend fundamental national interests.

We express confidence that the congress' decisions will be an important landmark on the path of further rallying all left-wing, democratic, and patriotic forces in the broad front of the struggle to implement profound democratic changes in Greece and ensure the country's peaceful future.

Expressing invariable solidarity with the KKE, the CPSU wishes Greek Communists great successes in their selfless activity for the good of the Greek people and for the sake of the triumph of the ideas of peace and socialism.

May the indissoluble friendship between the CPSU and the KKE and between the Soviet and Greek peoples flourish and grow stronger!

The CPSU Central Committee

Florakis Speech Opens Congress

PM141059 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 87 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Potapov and TASS correspondent A. Tkachuk dispatch: "Communist Party of Greece Congress Opens"]

[Text] Athens, 12 May -- The 12th Communist Party of Greece [KKE] Congress opened today at Party House in the capital's working class district of Persissos. More than 1,000 delegates and representatives of approximately 80 foreign communist and workers parties and national liberation movements are taking part in the congress' work. The CPSU delegation, headed by M.S. Solomentsev, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee, was greeted by the assembly with tumultuous applause.

The text of the KKE Central Committee report, which provides a detailed analysis of the world situation, was distributed to congress delegates today. As we stand on the threshold of the 21st century, the report says, the Communists' struggle to bring about a world free of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction and to preserve civilization is becoming all-embracing. Our peace struggle, it goes on to say, is inextricably bound to the struggle for changes in the direction of socialism.

The report says that the development of common European cooperation among all countries -- from the Atlantic to the Urals -- is the pivotal factor of KKE policy toward Europe. In the KKE's opinion, the Balkans could become a model for peaceful coexistence, good-neighborliness, and equal, mutually beneficial cooperation in all spheres. The Balkans' transformation into a nuclear-free zone would mark an important step in that direction. Greek Communists advocate the immediate elimination of all centers of tension in the Mediterranean through talks. They consider that Greece must resolutely resist any attempt to regard the Cyprus question as a question of relations within NATO or those of Greece and Turkey. It is an international problem. It is only by means of really extensive international support and the convening of a UN-sponsored international conference that a way out of the deadlock can be found and an integrated, unified, independent Cyprus free of foreign troops or bases created.

The opening speech, which initiated the congress' discussion of the report, was delivered by KKE Central Committee General Secretary K. Florakis. He noted that the KKE's activity is inextricably linked first and foremost with ideas of peace and a peaceful future for Greece. We are increasingly convinced that socialism and peace are indivisible, that peace is the route to socialism and socialism strengthens peace. This is the source of the Greek Communists' full support for Comrade Gorbachev's well-known proposals, proposals recognizing the need to open a new chapter in detente, peace, cooperation, relaxation of tension, and arms reduction in the world. We, K. Florakis continued, attach great significance above all to achieving an agreement on eliminating medium-range missiles in Europe, which could mark a fine start along the path to disarmament. Such a shift toward detente, he observed, also would make a valuable contribution to easing tension in the Near and Middle East region, tension evidenced in particular by the deterioration of Greek-Turkish relations bound up with U.S. neoglobalist aspirations in the eastern Mediterranean.

Communists, the KKE leader went on to say, are campaigning for the removal of American and NATO bases from Greek territory and the country's withdrawal from NATO. They advocate the simultaneous disbandment of the military blocs and the establishment of a system of collective security and support efforts to create a nuclear-free corridor in Central Europe and to turn the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons and the Mediterranean into a zone of peace.

This year, the Greek Communists' leader observed, the Great October Socialist Revolution is 70 years old. The changes of revolutionary character and restructuring in all spheres of social and economic life being implemented in the Soviet Union are arousing universal interest in the world. Of course, different circles interpret these changes differently. Communists and progressive forces consider that what is happening in the Soviet Union is of great significance, enriches revolutionary theory and practice, and widens the prospects for the struggle for socialism.

Our party, K. Florakis said, adopts a consistently internationalist stance on relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries, fraternal parties, and national liberation movements. We will resolutely defend such internationalism, which has nothing to do with blind imitation, plagiarism, or mediocre uniformity, but is bound up with active class solidarity, equality, and creative exchange. We will do so because it is our party's strength. It is essential for the communist movement.

Today, K. Florakis concluded, we must resolutely promote a broad political unification of the left. Drawing strength from its rich traditions, confident of its ability, and buttressed by its existing potential and achievements, the KKE can and must be a genuine exponent of everything that is new in line with the requirements of our epoch to achieve the revolutionary renewal of our society.

After the KKE Central Committee general secretary's address, representatives of different Greek political parties greeted the congress.

Solomentsev KKE Congress Speech

PM161435 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 87 Second Edition p 4

[Dispatch by unnamed own correspondent and TASS correspondent: "Soviet Delegation Head's Speech at 12th Greek Communist Party Congress"]

[Text] Athens, 13 May -- M.S. Solomentsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, and head of the Soviet delegation, has addressed the 12th Greek Communist Party [KKE] Congress, which is continuing here.

In his speech he pointed out that Soviet and Greek Communists are linked by truly fraternal relations which are deeply rooted in the traditions of friendship between the two peoples and are underpinned by ideological and political unity and by common assessments of world development. He greeted the delegates to the 12th KKE Congress and conveyed to them and to all Greek Communists and working people warm greetings from the CPSU Central Committee and wishes for the successful and fruitful work of the congress.

Your party forum, the CPSU delegation head said, has met at a complex and exceptionally crucial time in the history of mankind. The militarist course of aggressive U.S. and NATO circles has increased immeasurably the danger of a nuclear catastrophe. The fate of peace and of the very future of civilization is at stake. The modern world is faced with the need to be aware of this chief reality of the nuclear missile age and of the whole dramatic nature of the situation which has come about.

The old order of things, under which national security was founded on the priority of military-technical means and on the policy of force, must give way to an all-embracing system of international security subsuming all spheres of international life -- military, political, economic, and humanitarian. This is why the question of the need for new political thinking in our nuclear and space age has now arisen so acutely. The times insistently demand that all participants in international relations take urgent measures to avert the threat of a nuclear cataclysm hanging over mankind. There is no more important task today than the universal struggle against the threat of nuclear self-destruction, for the curbing of the arms race, and for disarmament. Our party and our people not only realize this but also take an active part in this struggle.

The new approach to international affairs also is making headway in the West, but this is still just the beginning. Old stereotypes are still strong in the capitalist world and leave their negative mark on the broad spectrum of social life and on the foreign policy of Western states. The more widespread the realization becomes in the world that it is no longer possible today to build one's own security at the expense of the security of others and that international politics cannot be determined by the interests of a single power, albeit a strong one, or of a group of powers, or by their military force, the more deeply the new political thinking will take root in the life of the world community, in practical politics.

The international forum "For a Nuclear-Free World, For the Survival of Humanity," held in Moscow last February, convincingly demonstrated that forces wanting lasting peace and mutually advantageous, good-neighborly relations among the peoples are growing and strengthening on all continents. It is important now to fully realize the tremendous potential of these peace-loving forces. [paragraph continues]

The CPSU delegation head emphasized that special responsibility for the future of peace lies with Communists, who today are progressive fighters not only for the working people's fundamental interests, but also for the salvation of life itself on earth.

True to the Leninist foreign policy principles, which enjoyed further development in the decisions of the 27th congress and the Central Committee January (1987) Plenum, our party is doing everything in its power to improve the international situation, and the arms race on earth and keep it out of space, totally eliminate nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction before the end of our century, and create an all-embracing system of international security.

With a sense of profound responsibility for the fate of peace, the CPSU seeks mutually acceptable solutions to an entire package of questions of nuclear disarmament, whose fundamental problem remains the radical reduction of strategic offensive arms.

As is known, the speaker continued, agreement was reached at the joint Soviet-U.S. talks held in Moscow in April this year to accelerate work on realizing the principled accord on medium-range missiles in Europe. In particular, the Soviet side emphasized its desire to draw up the necessary agreements within a compressed timeframe and displayed readiness to constructively resolve the question of operational and tactical missiles. But this, of course, rules out the U.S. "arms upgrading" proposed by some people in the West or the "reequipping" of U.S. medium-range missiles instead of their elimination.

The Soviet leadership proposed to the U.S. Administration that a start be made right now on the elaboration of "key provisions" on further talks regarding strategic offensive arms, the ABM Treaty setup, and nuclear tests. A definitive accord on these key provisions could be reached during a top-level meeting. Then they could become the basis for the USSR and the United States to prepare legally binding agreements on all these questions.

During the talks we saw for ourselves once again how difficult it is to reach agreement with U.S. politicians. We have to constantly demonstrate the need to observe the balance of interests and explain that what we understand by this is scrupulous regard for the partner's military-strategic security, the principle of equality applied to all parameters of arms at all stages of their reduction, and the rejection of attempts to give orders in foreign policy, to impose one's own views and, even more, one's own methods, and to regard other countries and entire regions of the world as one's own private domain: The U.S. political lexicon presents all this as the defense of "the United States' vital interests."

Whether a solution can be found in the very near future to major disarmament questions, primarily with regard to medium-range and reduced-range missiles, and whether the situation in Soviet-U.S. relations and in international affairs can be changed for the better will depend on what conclusions are drawn from our new proposals by the U.S. Administration and its NATO allies, particularly the West European nuclear powers.

I would like to emphasize, the CPSU delegation head went on to say, that under the present conditions responsibility for solving the problem of nuclear disarmament lies not only with the states which possess nuclear weapons, but with all other countries, whether large or small. They can all make their own contribution to the common efforts to save human civilization from destruction. In this regard it must be said that we attach great significance to the proposals of Bulgaria, Romania, and Greece to create a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans, and we value highly Greece's active participation in the movement for nuclear disarmament within the framework of the "initiative of six countries" of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Communists are making a tremendous contribution to the Greek people's antiwar, anti-imperialist struggle.

Your congress has reaffirmed that the KKE advocates achieving very broad unity of action among all the country's antiwar organizations and groups and merging them into a powerful force capable of barring the path of the forces of reaction and war. The KKE's patriotic and, at the same time, international stance has the support of broad sections of the people and contributes to the steady growth of its prestige. We for our part wish you all, comrades, great successes in your noble work!

Then M.S. Solomentsev dwelt on questions of the CPSU's domestic policy. Our party and the entire Soviet people, he pointed out, are now working under the sign of the approaching 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, under the impact of the truly revolutionary decisions of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, the 27th party congress, and the Central Committee January (1987) Plenum.

Over the past 7 decades, despite pressure and direct aggression from imperialism, socialism has caused our country to scale leading socioeconomic heights. A strong production, scientific, technical, and intellectual potential has been created.

Mankind's destiny fundamentally changed under the influence of Great October. World socialism has become a powerful international formation. The achievement of military-strategic parity with imperialism, which has had a sobering impact on lovers of military adventures, also has been our historic gain.

All this has demanded of the Soviet people tremendous effort and considerable sacrifices and losses. There have been both mistakes and miscalculations in the course of gigantic creative work. But the party has found the courage to tell the people about this. The honest admission of its own omissions and blunders and the determination to eliminate them only strengthen the party's prestige. It is characteristic that the country's working class and working people have never doubted the correctness of the socialist choice.

Our class, ideological enemies try to allege that the socialist system is to blame for the mistakes that have been made. To this we reply: It is a matter not of socialism but of the violation of its norms. A guarantee against the repetition of mistakes consists in the all-around deepening of the socialist system's democratism, in the restoration and development of the Leninist principles of openness, public control, criticism, and self-criticism, in the unity of word and deed, and in the people's real and increasingly broad participation in resolving all questions of our society.

Our country has now entered a new stage of development, which we call restructuring. Profound transformations of revolutionary substance are being carried out over a wide front in the economy, in political and spiritual life, and in the moral sphere.

The essence of these transformations consists not in denying all previous experience but in creating, improving, and developing socialism, and continuing the Great October cause. The ultimate aim of restructuring is to ensure a better life for Soviet people and to assert loftier models of social organization and social justice.

The CPSU does not doubt that the goals outlined will be achieved. This is guaranteed by the support of the Soviet people, who wholeheartedly advocate change. It is guaranteed by the unbreakable social and international unity of our society and the strong alliance of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia.

Concluding his speech, M.S. Solomentsev said that it was with great attention and interest that the CPSU delegation listened to Comrade Florakis' speech and familiarized itself with the Central Committee report and the KKE Central Committee theses for the 12th party congress.

These important party documents make an in-depth and objective analysis of the international situation and the situation in Greece and widely reflect the party's multifaceted activity imbued with concern for its country's fate and with the desire to deliver it from foreign dependence and to ensure forward development along the path of profound democratic changes toward socialism under conditions of peace and good-neighborliness.

Permit me to voice confidence that the documents adopted by this congress, which embody your party's collective reason and will, will give a new boost to the struggle in defense of the working people's interests and will promote the further strengthening of the party's ties with the people's masses.

The CPSU and the KKE are linked by long-standing, strong ties of fraternal friendship and cooperation founded on the unshakable principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Soviet Communists value this friendship and will continue to strengthen it indefatigably.

The CPSU delegation head expressed cordial gratitude for the warm words addressed to the CPSU and the Soviet Union at the congress. He conveyed the text of a CPSU Central Committee greetings message to the 12th KKE Congress and presented a memorial gift from the CPSU Central Committee.

Solomentsev Interview

NC181637 Athens KIRIAKATIKOS RIZOSPASTIS in Greek 17 May 87 pp 15-17

[Interview with Mikhail Solomentsev, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee, by unidentified KIRIAKATIKOS RIZOSPASTIS correspondent, in Athens; date not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Correspondent] The Mediterranean is considered to be one of the hotbeds of tension in the world. This is obvious from the recent sudden exacerbation of Greek-Turkish relations and the perpetuation of the Cyprus problem. What is the Soviet position on the Cyprus problem and the attainment of stable peace in the area?

[Solomentsev] I agree with your viewpoint that the Mediterranean currently constitutes one of the hotbeds of tension in the modern world. The events that are unfolding here convincingly testify to the fact that the main cause of instability in the Mediterranean is the U.S. military presence. Washington follows a policy of undisguised pressure on regimes that it does not like. Soviet policy aims at converting the Mediterranean from an area of military and political confrontation into a zone of stable peace and cooperation. Specifically, the USSR has repeatedly stated that it does not consider it necessary to keep its fleet in the Mediterranean. However, we are compelled to do so because the U.S. fleet is here, carrying nuclear weapons that threaten the security of the USSR and its allies.

As is well known, the USSR has put forth a complex of proposals that will rectify the military and political situation in the area.

We also support proposals from other countries on the issue of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean, especially the Cypriot proposal that the parliamentary committees of the Mediterranean countries should hold a conference to promote the idea of a Mediterranean free of nuclear weapons, bases, and foreign troops.

Undoubtedly, measures of a general nature are needed to guarantee stable peace, security, and cooperation. We need to develop relations in the cultural, commercial, economic, and human relations fields, and throughout civilization in general, and to find a solution for military and political problems. All these matters could be discussed in a broad conference similar to the CSCE. Other interested countries also could participate, along with the Mediterranean countries.

We are seriously concerned by the absence of positive steps for the solution of the Cyprus problem. In practice, the perpetuation of the problem serves to strengthen the partition of the island. As is well known, the USSR supports UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar's mission to find a solution for the Cyprus problem based on UN resolutions. At the same time, the USSR believes that without a solution of the international aspects of this problem, no one can rely on the permanence of any settlement. It is precisely for this reason that the USSR has advanced the idea of a representative conference on Cyprus, within the UN framework.

The necessity of taking practical steps to revive the procedure for a solution of the Cyprus problem is becoming increasingly evident. Measures must be taken to attract the participation of the UN Security Council permanent members and other interested countries in a constructive dialogue. I think this amounts to fulfilling a common duty to retain Cyprus as an independent, unitary, territorially integral, and nonaligned state.

[Correspondent] Gorbachev's visit to Greece is impatiently awaited. What can you tell us about this, and how do you assess prospects for the development of Greek-Soviet relations?

[Solomentsev] As far as I know, Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee secretary general, has very warm feelings for the Greek people and sincerely wishes to visit your country in response to the official invitation from the Greek Government. However, given the hard work necessitated by the complexity and volume of the duties involved in the revolutionary reconstruction process under way in the USSR, it is difficult right now to speak of a specific date for the visit.

Regarding Soviet-Greek relations, I would like to express satisfaction at the positive development of cooperation between the USSR and Greece and at the favorable atmosphere of good will and frankness that has been created in the last few years.

Generally, our policy for the further strengthening and development of relations with Greece in various fields remains unchanged. For its part, the USSR will continue to take all practical steps that serve the interest of our peoples and the consolidation of peace and international security. [passage omitted]

Solomentsev-Papandreou Meeting

LD141642 Moscow TASS in English 1504 GMT 14 May 87

[Text] Athens May 14 TASS -- A meeting between Mikhail Solomentsev, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Party Control Commission at the CPSU Central Committee, and Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou took place here today.

Mikhail Solomentsev conveyed to the head of the Greek Government a personal message from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The meeting, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, was focused on the problems of further expanding relations between the Soviet Union and Greece and other international issues, those of nuclear disarmament in the first place. Both sides expressed the wish to step up efforts aimed against the arms race and at promoting peace in Europe and in the world.

Today, the CPSU delegation visited a shooting-range in one of the districts of the Greek capital, Kesariani [as received], where in May 1944 the Nazi occupation troops executed 200 Greek patriots fighting for the independence and freedom of their native land. A wreath was laid to the war heroes monument.

Papandreou Interview on Meeting

LD142331 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 14 May 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Immediately after the conversation [with Solomentsev], Andreas Papandreou gave an interview to our correspondent. [video shows Papandreou talking to unidentified correspondent]

[Begin Papandreou recording in Greek, fading into Russian translation] I consider this really warm and cordial message most important for Soviet-Greek relations. It also gives a profound analysis of the problems of the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States on ridding Europe of medium-range missiles and the difficulties at the Geneva talks. I must note that the proposals advanced by the CPSU Central Committee's general secretary coincide absolutely with our position on these issues.

It is a pity that despite the fact that the zero option proposed earlier by the United States and the West is fully accepted by Mr Gorbachev, there are still difficulties. In our view, however, these can and must be overcome, as herein lies the only opportunity of concluding an initial agreement that would open up the way for further measures toward reducing nuclear weapons. I must say that I have been deeply impressed by Mr Gorbachev's message and propose to send a letter to him in reply in the next few days. [end recording]

Solomentsev Visits Shipyard

LD151449 Moscow TASS in English 1338 GMT 15 May 87

[Text] Athens May 15 TASS -- The CPSU delegation led by Mikhail Solomentsev, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Party Control Committee at the CPSU Central Committee, which takes part in the proceedings of the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Greece, today visited a state-run shipbuilding yard in Skaramanga.

Four refrigerator ships are currently under construction at this yard on order placed by the Soviet Union. Solomentsev met workers and senior executives of the shipyard.

A warm and friendly talk was held during which the head of the CPSU delegation told the Greek working people and representatives of the administration about changes taking place in the Soviet Union, the development of new forms of economic ties among Soviet enterprises and their foreign partners. He underlined the immense importance being attached in our country to extending economic cooperation with Greece.

The sides noted the great importance of further strengthening relations between the USSR and Greece in a variety of areas, for which there existed ample opportunities.

The senior executives of the shipyard informed the Soviet representatives about the way our country's order is being fulfilled. Cooperation with the USSR is of tremendous importance to the firm, since the Soviet Union, as we have seen for ourselves, is a reliable partner, the representatives of the administration said.

The Soviet orders allow us to guarantee employment for hundreds of our workers for many months. The members of the shipyard's board of directors stressed that they followed with keen interest and sympathy the positive processes in the USSR.

KKE Congress Ends

LD162319 Moscow TASS in English 1300 GMT 16 May 87

[Text] Athens May 16 TASS -- By PRAVDA and TASS correspondents Vladimir Potapov and Anatoliy Tkachuk:

The 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Greece has closed here today. Kharilaos Florakis, general secretary of the party Central Committee, addressed a closing speech to the congress. He touched upon the proposal of the Communist Party of Greece that a bloc of left-wing and progressive forces be formed in order to carry out a policy of change towards socialism, and stressed the importance of this initiative. He also pointed out the importance of effecting a qualitative change in inter-party work.

The discussion of such subjects as the most burning problem of the present -- the struggle for preserving peace and disarmament, questions related to the party's ties with the international communist working-class movement, political and economic development of Greece, the party strategy and tactics under the present-day conditions will be an important contribution to the effort of further perfecting party work.

The discussions at the congress have borne out the party's full ideological and political unity. The delegates and guests of the congress have expressed in their speeches approval of the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and of other socialist countries directed at curbing the weapons race, preventing its spreading into outer space, at protecting life on earth.

At their closing session, the delegates unanimously approved the resolution of the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Greece.

Solomentsev Leaves Greece

LD181527 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMT 18 May 87

[Text] Athens May 18 TASS -- A CPSU delegation led by member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Party Control Committee at the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Solomentsev left Athens for home today. The delegation took part in the work of the 12th congress of the Communist Party of Greece.

The delegation was seen off from the airport by General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece Kharilaos Florakis, other party functionaries.

USSR Ambassador to Greece Viktor Stukalin was among send-off party.

Arrives in Moscow

LD182221 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 May 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A CPSU delegation led by Comrade Solomentsev, which was taking part in the work of the 12th Congress of the Greek Communist Party, returned to Moscow from Athens today. At the airport the delegation was met by Comrade Vorotnikov and other comrades. [video shows Solomentsev coming down plane steps followed by other men; Solomentsev shaking hands with Vorotnikov on the tarmac, both men walking from the plane side by side.]

PRESIDIUM SENDS GREETINGS TO GREECE ON HOLIDAY

LD152143 Moscow TASS in English 1811 GMT 15 May 87

[Text] Moscow May 15 TASS -- The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has sent a message to president of the Republic of Greece Khristos Sartzetakis, conveying him and the friendly Greek people sincere congratulations and good wishes on the occasion of the national holiday of the country.

In his reply message Khristos Sartzetakis expressed gratitude for the congratulations.

The messages express confidence that the accumulated potential of mutually beneficial Soviet-Greek cooperation would continue serving the good of the peoples of both countries and promoting humanization of international relations, consolidation of peace and universal security.

KAZAKH DELEGATION ATTENDS VIENNA CULTURE FESTIVAL

Meets With Vranitzky

LD152109 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2200 GMT 14 May 87

[Text] Vienna, 14 May (TASS) -- A Kazakhstan delegation headed by Nursultan Nazarbyev, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR, met today with Franz Vranitzky, federal chancellor of Austria. The delegation arrived in Vienna to take part in the Soviet cultural festival in Austria.

During the conversation, both sides pointed to the mutually beneficial nature of the successfully developing Soviet-Austrian trade and economic ties that serve as a model of mutual relations between states with different social systems. It was stressed that the Soviet cultural festival in Austra, which has become a tradition just like the Austrian cultural festival in the USSR, makes an important contribution to the cause of strengthening mutual understanding between the peoples of both countries.

The Kazakh delegation also was received by Kurt Waldheim, president of Austria.

Nazarbayev News Conference

AU151841 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1600 GMT 15 May 87

[Raimund Loew report on news conference given by Nursultan Nazarbayev, chairman of the Kazakh Council of Ministers, on 15 May in the Soviet Embassy in Vienna; Nazarbayev's statements in Russian with superimposed German translation -- recorded]

[Text] [Loew] Perestroyka, Gorbachev's policy of restructuring, was introduced in Kazakhstan only 6 months ago. At that time, in December 1986, Kunayev, long-standing Kazakh general secretary and Brezhnev's confidant, was overthrown and replaced by the Russian Gennadiy Kolbin. On 17 and 18 December, young people rioted in the streets of Alma-Ata protesting against Kunayev's ouster, cars were burned, there were clashes with police, and some people were even killed. These so-called December riots are considered an example of the resistance in some places to Gorbachev's reform policy and an expression of the often strained relations between the Russian majority and the minorities of the Soviet multinational state. Today, Nursultan Nazarbayev, chairman of the Kazakh Council of Ministers, cited nepotism and material injustices as the background of the crisis in Kazakhstan. He considers the ousted Kunayev the main culprit. There is no longer any opposition against the new leadership, he said.

[Nazarbayev] Kunayev had been the first man, the first leader of the republic so to speak, for 20 years. A certain circle of leading officials had formed around him. These people naturally feared losing their former positions in case of a change in leadership. As we now know, these people broke the law and violated socialist laws. These young people expressed their dissatisfaction with the decisions of the plenum where Kunayev was ousted.

As we have now found out very clearly, there was by no means any kind of coordinating central agency or any other kind of organization of such events.

Therefore, today we can say there is no opposition to the policy line followed in the republic.

[Loew] Will Kunayev, who, under Brezhnev, was one of the most powerful men in the Soviet Union, be taken to court?

[Nazarbayev] At present there are no plans for this. At present we can only say that he has retired due to his age.

[Loew] Through the reform policy, Kazakhstan has experienced an economic upswing over the past few months after years of stagnation, Nazarbayev said.

At the beginning of this week, the Kazakh Premier accompanied Mikhail Gorbachev on a visit to the Soviet space center in Baykonur. Nazarbayev rejects any reports in the Western press that the reason for this visit was unrest or even strikes among the astronauts and the ground employees.

[Nazarbayev] There were no events such as you just mentioned. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev had numerous talks and meetings in the streets with the population in this region, in this city, and in all cases only feelings of support for Mikhail Gorbachev were expressed.

[Loew] Within the framework of the policy of openness, the Kazakh premier wants more economic cooperation with Western countries, including Austria. His region has quite a lot to offer with regard to the processing of agricultural products or furs, he pointed out.

BOOK CALLS TURKEY U.S. 'NUCLEAR DEPOT'

PM151451 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 May 87 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Stepanov dispatch: "In the Position of a 'Nuclear Depot'"]

[Text] Ankara, 7 May — The Turkish newspaper HURRIYET has published an extract from a recently published book by W. Arkin and R. Fieldhouse, two staffers of the Washington Policy Studies Institute, entitled "Fields of Nuclear War." It states that the United States attaches great significance to its bases on Turkish territory.

The United States has turned this country into a big nuclear depot where more than 500 nuclear warheads are stockpiled, they write. The new U.S. base at Mus, located 120 km from the Soviet border, poses a potential danger to Turkey. Addressing Congress, a spokesman for the U.S. Air Force Command pointed out that the military bases constructed in eastern Turkey are of significance not only within the NATO framework, but also for other operations. They could be used by the United States to carry out combat operations in the Middle East and in Southwest Asia. In that case Turkey would automatically be drawn into a military conflict, the authors point out.

PRESIDIUM GREETES NETHERLANDS ON NATIONAL DAY

PM161747 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 May 87 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands a telegram on the country's national holiday expressing sincere congratulations and wishes for prosperity to the Dutch people.

In a reply telegram the queen expressed sincere gratitude for the congratulations and sent best wishes to the Soviet people.

GROMYKO RECEIVES NEW FRG AMBASSADOR CREDENTIALS

PM201219 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 May 87 Second Edition pp 4, 6

[TASS report]

[Text] Andrey Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received on 19 May in the Kremlin FRG Ambassador Andreas Meyer-Landrut, who presented his credentials.

Speaking at the ceremony, A. Meyer-Landrut declared the readiness of his country's government to further develop relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union, which are based on the Moscow Treaty of 12 August 1970. These relations are given central significance in FRG foreign policy. Many FRG citizens, the ambassador stated, have a lively interest in restructuring and democratization of life in the Soviet Union.

Receiving the credentials, Andrey Gromyko stated:

We remember you when you were ambassador to us and good memories remain with us of your stay in the Soviet Union.

What can we say of relations between the USSR and the FRG? I think that it is quite appropriate to be reminded that a whole epoch has already passed since the end of World War II. This is even more justified when one considers the enormous number of events packed into this period. Of course our relations develop unevenly at times. But, all the same, if one tries to plot the line of their development, then it will be seen to lie in the ascendant. This means that both the FRG and the Soviet Union want to find a common language. There is a particularly inspiring milestone on the route which both sides have covered. This is the Moscow Treaty, which formulates the principles on which relations between our two countries must be built. I would like to say that we have adhered to and will continue to adhere to these principles.

If we go a step higher in the analysis of the situation and note what is the most important thing now, we consider that the most important thing for our countries, for all states in Europe, and for the world as a whole is the search for an agreement to avert a nuclear war. This is life's main task.

This is not the task which was thought up by some scientist bent over the instruments in a laboratory, or by a politician sitting at a desk. No! It is a task set by life itself. We emphasize this so that you might know the essence of our policy.

Our proposals are well known. They are expounded in the speeches by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

We expressed the hope that the FRG Government and all those circles which are concerned with determining the foreign policy of your country will eventually reach the sober conclusion that the proposals raised by the Soviet Union represent a good, convincing basis for accord.

Your government and the governments of some other countries allied to you are studying them. Well, let them study. The sooner they have studied them and reached a conclusion, the better. Of course, everything depends on what conclusion they reach. It would be good if they reach the correct conclusion on the need for an agreement, primarily between the Soviet Union and the United States. That would be a great, historic development. You, as ambassador, will undoubtedly be drawn in one way or another to an exchange of views on this topic.

At any time when the need arises for you to exchange opinions with us, turn to us. We will always respond to your requests.

We welcome the readiness you have expressed, Mr Ambassador, to make your useful contribution to the development of relations between our countries. You can rest assured that your activity in this direction will always find understanding and support from our side.

Let me thank you for the good wishes you have passed on from the Federal president and let me, for my part, ask you to pass on to him our best wishes.

I wish you success in fulfilling your great and honorable mission.

Then a relaxed conversation took place between Andrey Gromyko and A. Meyer-Landrut.

Both sides expressed the assurance that the forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union by FRG Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker will be of great significance for the further development of relations between the USSR and the FRG.

The following were present during the conversation: A.G. Kovalev, USSR first deputy foreign minister; T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Volker Haack, minister-counsellor at the FRG Embassy in the USSR.

U.S. TO EXPAND NUCLEAR PRESENCE IN BRITAIN

OW150511 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1045 GMT 13 May 87

["The World Today" program, presented by Valeriy Korzin]

[Text] This is how U.S. bombers took off from airfields in the United Kingdom to drop their deadly cargoes on Libyan cities.

[Video shows KC-10 tanker taking off] Echoes from that terrorist action can be heard to this day, and above all in the UK which, under pressure from Washington, became a participant in this operation.

The incident once again drew attention to itself through the U.S. intention to deploy strategic bombers carrying nuclear weapons in the United Kingdom. The DAILY EXPRESS reported that the United States intends to strengthen its nuclear forces in the United Kingdom by deploying B-52 bombers and by increasing the number of F-111 fighter bombers in Great Britain.

This plan is supposed to convince Western Europe of the reliability of the U.S. nuclear shield.

A scheduled NATO session will begin work in Norway in the middle of May and, in the opinion of the DAILY EXPRESS, Weinberger intends to make public his plan at this session. The plan obviously will be discussed behind closed doors by the NATO Nuclear Planning Group, and, equally obviously, those Englishmen who consider that with each new U.S. bomber on their territory, the independence of their country, the United Kingdom is diminished, will not be consulted.

PRAVDA URGES IMMEDIATE TALKS ON GULF SHIPPING SAFETY

PM191211 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 May 87 Second Edition p 5

["Commentator's Column" by Tomas Kolesnichenko: "Dangerous Waters"]

[Text] Events in the Persian Gulf grow more and more alarming. Just since the beginning of the year more than 30 ships, mainly tankers, have been hit. Yesterday it became known that the Soviet tanker Marchal Chuykov was seriously damaged when it hit a mine in the approaches to the Kuwaiti port of Al Ahmadi. Fortunately there were no casualties, the crew behaved courageously, and the tanker has now docked. Yesterday evening an Iraqi fighter fired on the U.S. Navy missile frigate Stark ("by mistake," the Pentagon and State Department believe). The Pentagon has stated that three crew members were killed. The fate of 30 people in the stricken part of the frigate remains unknown.

There is surely no need to convince anyone of the danger and consequences in the international sphere that an escalation of hostilities in the Persian Gulf could entail. That is why the most urgent measures are needed to ensure the safety of merchant ships in the region, irrespective of the flags under which they sail. Just what are these measures?

First and foremost it is necessary to end the Iran-Iraq conflict. It is not only continuing unabated but is in fact growing and expanding, drawing in other countries and powers. At the same time, it is no secret that the continuation of this insane and bloody war is being exploited by imperialist forces to build up their military presence in the Persian Gulf region.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly drawn attention to the need to eliminate this dangerous seat of tension. We continue to be prepared to give all possible assistance to any constructive efforts to move the Iran-Iraq conflict toward a search for peaceful solutions. No region should be considered a sphere of "vital interests" to justify any one power's dictating its will to the peoples living there.

Everyone has an interest in the Middle East, including our country. It is incomprehensible why, for some people in the West, this truth has now come as a surprise and a pretext for various types of speculation. Our policy, unlike the neoglobalists', is based on mutually advantageous economic ties and strengthening good-neighborliness, rather than on military-political domination.

The events of the last few days reaffirm with utter clarity the urgent need to implement our initiative -- to immediately start talks [osyshchestvleniye nashey initsiativy -- nemedlenno nachat peregovory] on ensuring the safety of shipping in the Persian Gulf, the Strait of Hormuz, and the entire Indian Ocean basin.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA VIEWS GULF WAR, STARK INCIDENTS

PM191429 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 May 87 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Exacerbation of the Situation"]

[Text] Baghdad, 18 May -- As an official military representative announced, the air defense forces foiled the attempts of two Iranian planes to bomb the town of Dahuk in the north of Iraq and shot one of them down. [paragraph continues]

Air Force planes attacked two "large naval targets" near the Iranian border. In the region of the Al-Amik oil rig to the south of the Fao Peninsula one of the enemy's military cutters was sunk. Battles have been waged to the east of Basra, where several ammunition dumps and artillery positions were destroyed.

Iranian long-range artillery again bombarded residential areas of Basra.

Nicosia, 18 May -- According to IRNA reports, during the last 24 hours Iranian Air Force planes have attacked military and industrial targets in Dahuk Province and have inflicted considerable losses on the enemy. Intense fighting has continued on northern section of the front, where 10 of the enemy's strong points were destroyed with the help of Kurdish armed detachments. Nineteen foreign vessels are being held and subjected to examination in the Strait of Hormuz.

Washington, 18 May -- On Sunday evening an Iraqi fighter fired on the U.S. Navy missile frigate Stark in the Persian Gulf, an official Pentagon representative stated. The attack occurred 85 miles from Bahrain. The frigate was struck by two missiles and fire broke out on board, but it carried on under its own steam to Bahrain. The Pentagon announced that 3 crew members died. The fate of 30 men in the stricken section of the frigate is still unknown.

The U.S. State Department announced that in connection with the attack a resolute protest has been made to the Iraqi ambassador in Washington, and the U.S. ambassador in Baghdad will demand explanations from the Iraqi Government as to the reason for this incident.

Pentagon and State Department representatives consider that the Stark was attacked "by mistake." This frigate is one of five U.S. Navy ships permanently stationed in the Persian Gulf. They are all based in Bahrain and their tasks include protecting U.S. merchant shipping from attacks, UPI notes.

MOSCOW NEWS DISMISSES IRANIAN TERRITORIAL CLAIMS

LD200930 Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 20 May 87

[Text] The newspaper MOSCOW NEWS has described Iran territorial claims to the Soviet Union as absurd. The paper carried an answer to a claim published in the Tehran newspaper JOMHURI-E ESLAMI that the Soviet Republic Tajikistan, Turkmenia, and Uzbekistan, as well as some districts in Georgia, were originally Iran's national territory and ought to be liberated. The MOSCOW NEWS says that the article in the JOMHURI-E ESLAMI had been obviously instigated by those elements who wish to sow hostility towards Soviet people in Iran.

EXPULSION OF IRANIAN DIPLOMAT FROM EGYPT EXAMINED

PM191510 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 May 87 p 9

[Own correspondent Konstantin Kapitonov report under the rubric "We Report the Details": "Expelled From the Land of the Pyramids"]

[Text] Damascus -- Iranian diplomat Mahmud Mohtadi, who headed the section for the protection of his country's interests in Cairo, is packing his bags. He was given 7 days to do this, from 13 May, when an Egyptian Government decision on the closure of the Iranian interests section in Egypt came into force. [paragraph continues]

In 1979 diplomatic relations between Iran and Egypt were broken off, because the Egyptian Government supported Baghdad in the war against Tehran, supplying weapons and ammunition.

According to reports from news agencies which have reached the Syrian capital, the Egyptian authorities have given no explanation for their action. Nonetheless among journalists accredited to Damascus information which casts light on this event has emerged.

As is well known, in recent years extremist Islamic groupings of various kinds have markedly stepped up their activity on the banks of the Nile in recent years. Groupings which, incidentally, have close links with Iran.... Thus back in May 1982, after the execution of the people who assassinated President Anwar al-Sadat, one of these organizations, Al-Aqsa, sentenced the present Egyptian President Husni Mubarak to death, and the president's entourage believes that the possibility of an attempt on his life is not excluded. Moreover, although these groupings are subjected to the cruellest persecutions and special military tribunals judge their members, the camp of the Islamic extremist opposition, far from becoming less active, has acquired new supporters.

Let me remind readers that after the unsuccessful putsch in October 1981 in the course of the investigation into members of the organization Al-Jihad al-Jadid it was established that this extremist grouping intended in September 1982 to release (with Iran's help) its arrested brothers, and then send them to Tehran, where they were to begin preparations for a new putsch. The main purpose was to establish an Islamic republic on the Iranian model. "Even then," a Syrian colleague told me, "Iran's leaders, through their diplomatic mission and agents in Cairo, not only maintained close contacts with extremist Islamic groupings, but also supplied them with money and weapons."

Another Syrian journalist, who was recommended to me as "very well informed," said in conversation with me that the name of the Iranian diplomat Mahmud Muhtadi has been mentioned repeatedly in the Egyptian press in connection with extremist Islamic groupings.

By all appearances the Iranian "diplomat" was overzealous in strengthening the "Islamic factor" on the banks of the Nile. He has left the land of the pyramids. But the extremist Islamic groupings, and the threat which emanates from them, remain....

BRIEFS

MEDITERRANEAN RESEARCH UNDER WAY -- Moscow May 15 TASS -- An expedition aboard the Soviet research vessel Academician Boris Petrov has got down to work in the eastern Mediterranean. Aboard this ship and another research vessel, Academician Nikolay Strakhov, the Soviet geologists will explore underwater structures in cooperation with scientists from Syria and Cyprus. The region under study represents the most interesting object of research for establishing ancient geological features common to the African and Euroasian continents. [Excerpt] [Moscow TASS in English 1802 GMT 15 May 87 LD]

PRAVDA CARRIES L'UNITA INTERVIEW WITH GORBACHEV

PM191621 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 May 87 First Edition pp 1-3

["M.S. Gorbachev's Replies to Questions by the L'UNITA Editorial Office"]

[Text] Some time ago the editorial office of the Italian Communist Party [PCI] newspaper L'UNITA asked M.S. Gorbachev to grant it an interview.

On 18 May, M.S. Gorbachev received in the Kremlin Comrade G. Chiaromonte, member of the PCI Directorate and chief editor of the newspaper L'UNITA; Deputy Chief Editor Comrade R. Foa; and Comrade G. Chiesa, the newspaper's Moscow correspondent, and presented them with replies to the questions submitted in advance.

An animated, friendly conversation took place, whose contents are reproduced below.

M.S. Gorbachev: I am glad to welcome you, Comrade Chiaromonte, and the other Italian comrades. I received your written questions for the interview, and worked hard on the answers. You asked very many questions, by the way. I have answered virtually all of them. But I did leave something for the next interview. (animation)

G. Chiaromonte: Thank you very much. As for the "unanswered questions," let us at once put our names down for the next interview. As you know, we Italians are very curious people. Especially since you, Comrade Gorbachev, are very popular in Italy. Incidentally, have you ever been to Italy?

M.S. Gorbachev: Yes, I have, on two occasions. I can say right away that I like the Italian people very much -- they are full of the love of life and energy.

The first time I visited Italy was for a vacation with a group of CPSU party officials at the invitation of your party's leadership. That was a very interesting trip. We were in Sicily, near the town of Terrasini. We took a bus tour of virtually the whole island, saw Enna, which is known as Sicily's "navel," and visited the resort town of Taormino. Later we visited other Italian cities, attended the L'UNITA festival in Turin, and visited Florence and the nearby small town of San Gimignano. I recall best of all the meetings with Italy's workers in the smaller towns and workers' settlements.

G. Chiaromonte: I would like to tell you about an incident testifying to your popularity in Italy. At present we are in the throes of an election campaign, and all parties have submitted the lists of their candidates. We submitted rather long lists, including a considerable number of independents, representatives of the intelligentsia, and men and women with left-wing views, but not members of our party. Some newspapers wrote that we had thus followed the path of soccer clubs, which each year recruit players who previously have played in other teams. Comrade Pajetta told me about a rally he attended at which he said that if the law under which Italian soccer clubs recruit foreign players were to operate for Italian elections, we could ask Comrade Gorbachev to put his name down as candidate on our list. This was, of course, a joke: Pajetta's audience erupted into tumultuous applause.

M.S. Gorbachev: My second visit to Italy took place, unfortunately, under sad circumstances -- E. Berlinguer's death. At that time we had a very important conversation with a group of PCI leaders. I recall that we sat us almost all night and raised numerous questions. I told your comrades: How much discussion can there be on the question of party autonomy. You Italians have said a million times that you are independent. We have said 2 million times -- including at congresses of the CPSU -- that both we and you are independent.

But now we sense that many parties are being drawn toward solidarity and consolidation of efforts. We are talking about developing political relations between parties, about political solidarity, about offering the communists' proper response to the problems posed before the peoples by time. After all, we communists express the interests of workers and working people, and we ought not to deal in politicking. I imagine a healthy trend toward the exchange of opinions and collaboration.

We are, by the way, inviting many delegations from parties and different movements to attend the celebrations of the Great October Revolution's 70th anniversary. We are thinking of proposing to hold at that time in Moscow an informal meeting for the purpose of a broad discussion on the most important questions perturbing the whole world, attended not only by communists, but by representatives of other parties, without any documents, summing up of results, and so on. Many of those with whom we have had an opportunity to discuss this have responded positively.

G. Chiaromonte: If it were to be effective and useful, a meeting like this could not be limited to just communist parties. This is our opinion. It is necessary that it be attended by socialists, social democrats, and representatives of national liberation movements -- in other words it should not be a restricted event but genuinely broad. Only then could it be useful.

M.S. Gorbachev: Precisely so.

I have prepared answers to your written questions which were submitted to me in advance. I must say that I very much like the Italian way of presenting questions. To start with, you use half a page to remind me what I have said before, and only then do you ask the question. I like this style.

G. Chiaromonte: We were inspired, Comrade Gorbachev, by the frankness [otkrovennost] and directness of your statements.

M.S. Gorbachev: I may not have answered all your questions, but in most cases I did try to provide exhaustive answers. I hope you will be satisfied with this. It is, of course, impossible to answer everything, and it is hardly necessary to do so, otherwise all interest in the next interview will be lost. (laughter)

G. Chiaromonte: Once again, thank you very much for agreeing to grant the interview, giving us the text of your answers, and receiving us today. If possible, I would like to ask a few brief questions.

M.S. Gorbachev: It is not impossible that I have already answered these questions in my written replies. But I am prepared to have a conversation with you.

G. Chiaromonte: The ideas of renewal and restructuring now being promoted by the Soviet leadership were not, of course, born out of the blue. In your view, casting your mind back to the past and your work as party leader, when did you become aware of the need for restructuring?

M.S. Gorbachev: You are right to suggest, Comrade Chiaromonte, that this was not a revelation suddenly appearing in the middle of the night. There are, of course, situations in which the solution emerges unexpectedly, but even so it is preceded by lengthy deliberation.

Not only I, but also my colleagues in the party leadership link the birth and formulation of the concept of the renewal of socialism on its own base and in all spheres of socialist society's development primarily with the CPSU Central Committee April 1985 Plenum. Of course, the party had already felt the need for changes and renewal a few years earlier. The perception of this need was reflected even in CPSU documents and resolutions, including those of its congresses. But the pity was that many very important political conclusion and decisions connected with the development of socialism in the end remained nothing but wishful thinking. They were not backed by practical deeds, by the party's practical activity. Unresolved problems continued to accumulate, society felt this, and all this was ultimately reflected on the party itself. Yet the problems had to be solved and the disease had to be cured. If an illness is driven deep inside an organism, the illness will only be aggravated. It is no accident that we even use the term "precrisis phenomena" to describe the situation which developed in our country in the late seventies and early eighties.

I cannot agree with what people say at times, namely that the course of the renewal of socialism is linked personally with Gorbachev's name. That would be contrary to the truth. The formulation of the new course is an expression of the fact that Soviet society and the Soviet people had and still have a broad perception of the need for changes. In other words, if it had not been Gorbachev, it would have been someone else. Our society was ripe for changes, and the need for changes created the momentum. These changes required a certain movement of cadres. This did happen, both in the party Central Committee and in the government. New people joined the leadership -- people who, in the last few years, had been acutely aware of the situation and had formulated ideas as to what had to be done. The party's top leadership was renewed after March 1985, and the Central Committee April 1985 Plenum considered the plan of action. I want to say again that this was no revelation, no sudden inspiration, but a perception of the objective need for changes in our society, and it was on this basis that the line of the renewal of society and the acceleration of its development was formulated.

G. Chiaromonte: Did you ever ponder these problems while you were working in Stavropol?

M.S. Gorbachev: This can be said of many comrades who worked in the provinces in those years. We perceived the real processes occurring in society and felt that things could not go further along that way. Incidentally, many of the new comrades who have joined the Central Committee and the government are graduates of the great school of practical work at the local level. In this way, we have a kind of synthesis of experience and analysis of reality both at the grass roots and at the top.

G. Chiaromonte: Do the replies you have prepared in writing include an answer to the question of resistance to the CPSU's new course?

M.S. Gorbachev: Yes, I have answered this question. Incidentally, I have also touched on this topic in my speeches. We have no political resistance to the new course. But we are all children of our times. The previous atmosphere, style, work methods, and approaches to analyzing and solving problems -- all this also had an impact on us. This is why all of us, from worker to general secretary, must now restructure ourselves. This is not a fine phrase; this is where the essence of the question lies, I would even say the essence of the democratization of our life.

For example, the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum made a major breakthrough in methods of thinking, approaches, and assessments. But let us compare this plenum with the recent January plenum. We will see how far we have advanced. Yet the party is the same party. This means that we ourselves are changing in the course of restructuring.

G. Chiaromonte: When you came to Italy for E. Berlinguer's funeral, you said in response to a journalist's question that some of Berlinguer's ideas had prompted your musings and reflections. Is this the case?

M.S. Gorbachev: The main thing in relations between our two parties -- and this is important -- lies in the fact that even during periods of debate they have always been characterized by a spirit of comradeship, a spirit of respect for each other.

V.I. Lenin once said (I am not quoting him, but conveying his idea) that it is important to know not only the position of your comrades in the party and the movement, but also what the class enemy is saying about us. Because, first, he expresses his views starkly and, second, he sees the weaknesses in our positions more acutely.

So why should we not talk about the benefit of exchanges of views between two parties and two central committees? An active exchange of views and information provides rich food for thought and makes it possible to take a broader approach to given problems, analyze international problems, and deepen and broaden ties. This interconnection contains a great guarantee that our assessments and conclusions will be more correct. This kind of exchange of views, this kind of interconnection is also extremely important in our relations with our Italian comrades.

G. Chiaromonte: Even when the discussions become polemical?

M.S. Gorbachev: Yes, even then. For even during the periods of sharp polemics, both the CPSU and the PCI bore and were aware of their responsibility to their peoples, the workers movement, and the cause of socialism.

R. Foa: Allow me to put a question of a rather personal nature. You enjoy great popularity throughout the world, Comrade Gorbachev. And it is understandable that there is great interest in you. L'UNITA readers would find it very interesting to learn how you spend your free time, what you read, what your interests are.

M.S. Gorbachev: It is not really our practice to talk about this, but I will nevertheless try to answer this question, too.

The point is that when people talk about Gorbachev's popularity they are obviously speaking not about the specific person but about the policy which the Soviet leadership implements. [paragraph continues]

It is a policy that it has elaborated and submitted to the Soviet people and society. In the international sphere it is a policy the Soviet leadership implements on the basis of our well-known foreign policy concepts. This is evidently where the foundations of the authority of Soviet policy lie. If we are consistent in implementing it -- domestic and foreign policy alike -- the authority will be maintained and increased. If not, no style or personal charm will save us. We take a sober view of such things and realize that it is precisely this that is of particular importance, and not only for the Soviet leadership, incidentally. There must be no exaggeration. It is necessary to honestly serve our people and the cause of socialism and follow the road you once chose.

The question of a general secretary's free time is an interesting one, of course. I will try to answer it as follows.

I have always considered it my "weakness" to be interested in many things in different fields. I cannot even say which disciplines were of particular interest at school, which sciences I liked more and which less. I joined a faculty of law, for example, but my first wish had been for physics. I loved mathematics a great deal, but the same was true of history and literature. To this day I can remember by heart poems I learned in schools.

It is obviously possible to agree that people who concentrate on some single field achieve a great deal in life, but I nevertheless find people with broad thinking more sympathetic.

As for free time, currently we don't have any -- and this applies not only to me but also to all members of the Soviet leadership.

The present Soviet leadership's mission is to utilize all opportunities and develop the processes of restructuring most broadly. This compels us to concern ourselves with essentially everything -- the economy, ideology, culture, and spirituality. This determines our contacts with people, and it is to this that practically all our time is devoted. Maybe this way of life cannot be described as totally normal, but it is dictated by the times and by our situation, which recalls revolutionary periods when it is necessary to devote yourself completely, regardless of anything.

As for interests, in my mature years I have been more interested in economic questions and have read and written on these questions. It can be said that I go into things quite deeply here. But philosophical questions continue to interest me, particularly now. Incidentally, this is currently helping me to theoretically interpret the stage of development of Soviet society we are currently in, the problems of the modern world, and its interconnections. This provides an opportunity to struggle to improve Soviet people's lives not on the basis of wishes of some kind but on the basis of serious analysis and realistic conclusions.

I have read a great deal of literature on questions of philosophy -- literature published not only in our country but also in the West. I can say that an "age of Renaissance," of the renaissance of the creative spirit of Leninism, has dawned in the Soviet Union. We are re-reading and reinterpreting Lenin's works to understand the Leninist method in depth. Understanding of this method helps us in our serious concerns. Quotations are no salvation here. For if we do not master Lenin's creative method we will not be able to provide an analysis of the present and elaborate correct decisions.

For example, I often repeat Lenin's words that 70 Marxes are needed to understand the world economy. But that was said many decades ago. How many are needed now!

Lenin hoped for successors who would be devoted to the cause of socialism, the cause to which he devoted his entire vivid life. He believed that they would creatively develop his teaching.

Naturally the spiritual and cultural life of society and our people also interests me. It is very important to understand how changes are reflected in our social thinking.

As you can see, a conversation about leisure and free time did not materialize (animation).

G. Chiesa: You travel around the country a great deal. What are your impressions of these visits? Is restructuring causing problems? How are the appeals for discipline and social justice being received among working people? What is the reaction to the existence of the privileges some party and state figures enjoy? What has been the reaction to the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism?

M.S. Gorbachev: All my trips around the country, including the recent visit to Baykonur, are attended by extensive contacts with workers and working people. This is not something new for me, not something I have invented. I have always worked like this, and in this question I do not need restructuring. (laughter) I believe that a party worker, especially a worker with statewide responsibilities, cannot successfully fulfill his obligations and will not be able to work fruitfully if he lacks a life-giving link with working people and their lives. It is at this point -- the point where politics and contacts with the masses meet -- that both the correctness and the shortcomings of all work are visible. It is on this basis that corrections can and must be made if something is being done wrong. This is the central element in our activity.

Working people's support for the party's policy and its line aimed at renewal is perhaps the most important thing at this time. Without this support our policy would be worthless. In the past 2 years we have seen and been convinced that our choice in favor of restructuring and renewal was the correct one. But there are also tactical questions, questions determined by the time. We do not know everything, but we do know the main thing. This is a process, and this process must be constantly pondered in both the party and society.

We always hear from the working people: We are in favor of the party's policy and restructuring, we believe in it, and beg you not to stop. As you can see there is a certain anxiety: Don't stop! Obviously there are grounds for this anxiety. The fact is, there had been initiatives in the past but they were not carried through to the end. People remind us about this.

You asked an interesting question about one's attitude to discipline and order. The fact is, the working people themselves are demanding more discipline and more order. We must, and we will, act in such a way as to consolidate both. People are advocating a high level of organization, conscientiousness, and a responsible approach. If this is lacking, the whole of society suffers. It is essential that discipline and order should exist at industrial enterprises, in trade, and in urban services. We will need discipline and order at all stages of restructuring. Of course, people's consciousness and self-discipline are particularly important here. It is precisely on the basis of self-discipline that the foundations of restructuring can develop. In the new course the main thing is people's real participation in the restructuring processes.

A few words about so-called privileges and questions of social justice. The fact is, socialism cannot ensure living conditions and consumption that are identical for everyone. [paragraph continues]

That will happen under communism. Under socialism the criterion for the distribution of social benefits are different: from each according to one's abilities to each according to one's labor. A whole series of historic gains exists that ensure the stability of the socialist society: the absence of exploitation; equality of nations; provision of work; free education, that is, access to secondary and higher education for everyone; free medical treatment, that is, access to health care; concern for proper provision in old age; and virtually free housing for the majority of the population.

Such is the expression of social justice under socialism. This is, incidentally, making our society one of the most politically stable ones.

When the foundations for the stable life of society are ensured, the quantity and quality of labor must be the chief criterion for evaluating people's activity. But in the past a deviation from this criterion was observed and wage-leveling tendencies were manifested. This meant that a person's income was not linked to his labor contribution and to his creative potential. This affected people's activeness. Therefore the prime task for us now is to overcome wage-leveling. It is essential to respect a person's labor and the quantity and quality of his labor. Although, of course, there are those who would like to work less and receive more, to get as much as a major scientist, highly skilled worker, or industrious peasant. Our task, I repeat, is to assert in full the socialist principle: from each according to one's ability, to each according to one's labor.

As for benefits, one can say the following here. There are benefits established by the state. Once again this is linked with the record of quantity and quality of socially useful labor and the contribution of each specific person.

There are benefits that are realized in economics and in science (for instance, we take care of major scientists and academicians). People who make an outstanding contribution to the cause of building socialism are recognized by the award of special titles such as Hero of Socialist Labor, Meritorious Scientific Figure, Meritorious Figure of Culture, and of the Arts. They have definite privileges including in the field of the allocation of housing. In other words, the person's specific contribution is taken into account.

I think that this is well founded. It is a question here of those privileges the state deems it is possible to grant to any particular member of society in the interests of the development of the whole of society. For some time to come there will obviously be a place for benefits and privileges.

But there are also those privileges the state has not established but some people have established for themselves as it were, by dint of their status. This is unacceptable and we shall combat such phenomena.

Another aspect of the issue also exists. Under the jurisdiction of certain organizations, establishments, and enterprises there are auxiliary bodies that render them services in terms of trade and distribution. This form of activity has taken shape here. Consider for instance, a large plant. After all, a plant in our country does not just mean what it produces, but it also implies services for the plant's workers.

Incidentally, Comrade Chiesa, you could devote one of your reports to some such plant.

A canteen system exists at large enterprises. If, let us put it bluntly, certain food products are not always available in the trade system, then they are to be found in the plant canteens. The enterprise undertakes expenditure on maintaining the premises for canteens and other outgoings, and provides working people with low-price meals. This is done by the plant's administration, by the trade union.

Medical establishments exist that provide services for the workers of a given enterprise. Moreover, this does not just mean an outpatient clinic but also rest homes and dispensaries both adjoining the enterprise, and also, let us say, on the Black Sea or elsewhere. Enterprises also tend to have their own stores, order desks, repair establishments and so forth.

This is the case at enterprises. But if we consider the Academy of Sciences, the Writers Union, or other similar organization, then those too have their own service spheres, sanatoriums, boarding houses, and rural retreats. Thus are tasks concerning the provision of services resolved.

The Komsomol, the trade unions (incidentally, the trade unions are the richest organization in the country), and the party apparatus also have similar service organizations. This is the way things have taken shape historically.

Of course, given the existence of such a system, problems can arise. Primarily, it may happen that things get carried, as it were, to excess in the sense that someone may become too far detached from the overall level. Such phenomena, naturally, are justifiably criticized by the working people.

The party is struggling to resolve social problems. Major steps are being taken to improve social activity. We are accelerating housing construction and 10 percent of the capital investment planned for production will be invested in housing construction. Serious decisions have been adopted for reorganizing the health service system. Reform of higher and secondary education is being carried out. Steps have been taken to render material assistance to creative unions, along with other measures.

In the future we shall realistically analyze the situation in the social spheres. Our approach is based on the acceleration of the development of this sphere. At the moment, it must be honestly admitted, it is lagging behind. The main thing here is to correctly employ socialist principles, to correctly evaluate the contribution of each person and the quality and quantity of his labor.

A special issue is that of our veterans, pensioners, invalids, and large families. We have taken care of them and will continue to do so. For this purpose, incidentally, an organization of labor veterans has been set up. We also show concern for the specific interests of young people.

Together with this, it is also clear that in the social sphere, and, strictly speaking, in all other spheres, we shall resolutely combat any negative phenomena such as bribery, self-seeking, and unearned income.

We shall also continue our struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism. The roots of this phenomenon go back centuries, these have become habits, and it is not easy to combat them. But society is ripe for an abrupt turnaround in solving this question.
[paragraph continues]

Incidentally, the working people remind us about the need not to let up in the struggle against alcoholism. Although, of course, not everyone is pleased with the measures that have been taken.

But women are even demanding that total prohibition be introduced. We realize, however, that it is impossible to introduce such a law on a statewide level. And we respond by saying that if you want to, then introduce prohibition in your own family, settlement, village, population center, or finally, your rayon. In thousands of villages and settlements the decision has been adopted at meetings to end the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages. The struggle against alcoholism is continuing. Over the last 2 years the per capita consumption of alcohol has fallen by half. However, there has been a marked intensification of moonshining. We shall wage a determined struggle against this phenomenon all the way to toughening up corresponding measures.

This is a major problem. And the way to get rid of such a vice as alcoholism is to develop the service sphere and the trade sphere, to develop sport and culture more, and to democratize all social life.

It must be said in general that if society had adopted a negative stance on this issue we should have achieved nothing. All these steps were taken on the basis of the opinion of the working people and are being carried out with their participation.

G. Chiaromonte: A final brief question. How do you assess relations between the Soviet Union and Italy?

M.S. Gorbachev: Relations between the USSR and Italy are not developing badly. We value our relations with the Italian Republic which are based on great traditions and respect for each other. It is very important that political dialogue and mutual understanding are developing and improving between our two countries.

We also value Italy's distinctive contribution to international affairs. We are familiar with Italy's very rich culture and history, we value it and take a deep interest in it.

G. Chiaromonte: And what about your coming to visit us, Comrade Gorbachev?

M.S. Gorbachev: I think about it all the time. I have a tremendous desire to visit Italy. Let me take this opportunity to send best wishes to the Italian people on behalf of the Soviet people and the Soviet leadership and on my own account. [Gorbachev ends]

The following are answers which M.S. Gorbachev conveyed to the Italian comrades in written form.

Question: You said recently that tourism is not your profession, and so you could go to the United States only if a real prospect emerges of concluding an agreement in the disarmament sphere. Could you indicate the main questions on which you believe it is necessary to come to an agreement at a possible summit meeting between the leaders of the USSR and the United States? Do you think, in particular, that there is now a tangible prospect of attaining an agreement with the United States on medium-range missiles?

Answer: As far as tourism is concerned, that is correct. But realism -- that is an essential characteristic that should be inherent in every politician.

The whole range of questions of lessening military tension and confrontation in the world cannot be resolved immediately and simultaneously, but it is necessary to start somewhere.

At present the question most ripe for resolving is indisputably the elimination of American and Soviet medium-range missiles in Europe and their severe limitation in the Asian part of the USSR and on U.S. territory.

Reaching agreement on this and signing the first agreement in history on the radical reduction, the almost total elimination, of an entire class of nuclear weapons is an entirely realistic possibility. It is also quite possible to define "key provisions" concerning strategic offensive arms, ABM, and nuclear tests.

Only a few weeks ago it appeared that as a result of the Soviet side's rapid advance toward the positions of the United States and its West European allies, an agreement was only a few steps away.

Indeed, the foundations for this agreement were jointly defined by President Reagan and me back in Reykjavik; there was the desire, especially on the part of West European countries, that we agree to separate the elimination of medium-range missiles from the total package -- we did so; concern arose over inequality in operational and tactical missiles on the European continent -- we agreed to the complete elimination of Soviet and U.S. weapons in this class in Europe.

Probably not only we ourselves, but the majority of people throughout Europe and worldwide thought that the attainment of a final accord was, so to speak, a technicality.

But it turns out that certain governments in Western Europe have not yet decided for themselves whether they want the elimination of Soviet medium-range missiles, if the U.S. ones are to be eliminated at the same time.

We have observed that some people are trying to create an endless chain of more and more new connections. First they said that the question of medium-range missiles cannot be resolved without the simultaneous elimination of operational and tactical missiles, then they started to add in tactical nuclear weapons, battlefield nuclear weapons, and then also conventional arms and armed forces. In general terms, all these are serious matters, and it is well known that we have spoken out on them together with our allies. And we are prepared to discuss them and resolve them.

But in our opinion these problems must not be used for all kinds of procrastination. All the same, we think political realism will prevail. Too much is at stake, it is a question of matters which are too significant for mankind. As for those who hesitate, let me remind them of Seneca's dictum: When a man does not know to what haven he steers, no wind will be a fair wind for him.

The opportunity which has opened up must not be lost. The attainment of an agreement will facilitate the path to the resolution of many other problems of ending the arms race and of disarmament. We set forth our idea of the paths and stages toward the total elimination of nuclear weapons by the beginning of the 21st century in the well known 15 January 1986 Statement.

It is on this basis that we act on disarmament questions. We are improving our proposals in each avenue so that they incorporate useful ideas and considerations from other states. In many avenues talks are already under way, some of which -- those on chemical weapons, for instance -- are at an advanced stage.

Question: In the Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress and in subsequent speeches you have insisted on the need to recognize the interdependence which links the systems of East and West, North and South in the present era. This is a new vision of the world, which brings cooperation between different social systems to the forefront. Could you develop your thoughts on this question?

Answer: You are quite right. It was the 27th CPSU Congress which drew conclusions of very great theoretical and political importance:

-- As a result of 4 decades of the nuclear arms race, mankind finds himself literally facing a dilemma of survival;

-- The present world, for all its diverse and contradictory nature, is increasingly interconnected, interdependent, and to a significant degree an integral whole.

It follows from this that the path to the creation of the lasting, nuclear-free peace that is so badly wanted by the peoples, who are tired of confrontation, who are suffocated by it, the path to a nonviolent world in which everyone would retain his own philosophical, ideological, political, and religious views -- that path lies in talks between states and the joint elaboration of accords on the central points on the international agenda, and first and foremost on questions of disarmament. This will require states to renew the practices of international relations and diplomacy in line with the new way of thinking.

There is much here that is out of the ordinary. Remember, for instance, how often talks on disarmament have begun. But states have often tacitly proceeded on the basis that although it would be good to reach agreement, if that does not prove possible, it will not be so very terrible. But now we are all obliged to realize that it is terrible, that mankind cannot be allowed to take further steps toward the brink of nonexistence. Life dictates that we agree to begin to move in the opposite direction.

This is now the categorical imperative of politics and diplomacy. We formulate our international policy in precisely this spirit.

Of course, we also know our restructuring in the foreign policy, our call for a new way of thinking, is far from being to everyone's liking in the West. It is becoming increasingly clear where the main seats of opposition lie, and who would like to create a front for the struggle against new approaches in foreign policy.

Without overcoming the opposition of those who cling to the old policy of strength and the obsolete stereotypes in East-West relations, one can hardly count on a radical improvement in international relations or on ensuring a lasting, secure peace.

The other side of the matter is that an abrupt turnabout in historical development endangers a great many new questions, and ready answers to all these questions are not available. But given good will and understanding, we can and must find answers to them, by collective efforts.

Now that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries propose to work toward a nuclear-free world, the question arises: In that case will not mankind go back to the situation which existed before World Wars I and II, when nuclear weapons did not exist, but military conflicts were unleashed and took many tens of millions of lives? How, we are asked, do you propose to ensure security and nonviolence in a world where there will be no nuclear weapons?

This is no idle question. But we will never agree that nuclear weapons should be deemed a reliable means of preserving peace. [paragraph continues]

It is our conviction that in a nuclear-free world powerful politico-legal mechanisms for regulating international relations must be created and function. Their creation is the common task of all states -- nuclear and nonnuclear, developed and developing. Here an important place will obviously belong to the United Nations, whose role and significance, in our opinion, must grow.

In general, we would welcome the commencement of international dialogue on the substance of the entire range of questions of a comprehensive security system in a nuclear-free world, given an adequate minimum of arms, the structure of which would be determined by purely defensive needs.

If you look at world affairs from the human angle, there is scarcely anything more urgent today than the humanization of politics. Nuclear disarmament is also fundamentally a question of humanism, and even primarily of humanism.

This way of looking at the matter calls into being new approaches to the resolution of international affairs. Over the centuries politics has remained the preserve, so to speak, of the strong of this world. Even now it is still largely the lot of states and their leaders. But now, by no means only states. The leading social trend -- the shift toward democratization -- is declaring itself ever more loudly and convincingly in international political activity.

Our time has naturally been one in which the role of factors affecting all mankind in world affairs, the human measurement of politics, and the reconsideration of international relations from that viewpoint have generally increased. Our time is placing emphasis on the satisfaction of people's spiritual and material requirements, which have a common foundation, especially insofar as they relate to the preservation of life itself and the living environment for the Soviet Union, Italy, or any other country. We believe that this dominant humanist idea in politics will win increasing recognition.

This is also the essence of the new thinking, through the prism of which we regard humanitarian cooperation as an inalienable part of an all-embracing system of security on a par with political, economic, and ecological cooperation. Ensuring that people, that individuals are protected is the substance of the task. But people's social self-awareness also require protection, so that they feel that their freedoms are not fictitious, that society really does need them, their work, and their knowledge and will not abandon them in trouble, will provide them with housing, will not leave them to die of hunger, will take care of their children, and will guarantee at least a minimum of benefits.

I believe that it is precisely here that a common denominator can be found for the different approaches to human rights questions and to the social and humanitarian sphere as a whole.

Of course, no state or government is immune to making mistakes. But it is also true that, the more states associate with one another, the more open and sincere their intercourse becomes, and the more profoundly the new political thinking enters the minds of statesmen, the greater people's confidence will become that miscalculations and mistakes will be reduced.

Question: In your speeches and in recent Soviet positions on a number of questions we have been aware of new emphases as far as relations between the USSR and West Europe are concerned. It is no secret that some circles in the West fear lest the development of European detente drive a wedge into the Western countries' alliance and weaken the Europe-U.S. link. Some ascribe precisely that intention to the USSR. What can you tell us about that?

Answer: Relations with the West European countries really do occupy a special place in our international policy.

I think I am right in saying that in Europe -- despite all the sociopolitical and national-state variety there -- there is a growing trend toward further improvement of interstate relations in the East-West context. This is the effect of growing awareness of the contemporary world's realities, the high intellectual potential of European nations, and, at the same time, their historical experience which abounds in drama. This also goes to explain why the philosophy of the "all-European home" encounters increasing response and understanding. We strive to maintain the continuity and assertiveness of the all-European process.

As far as driving a wedge between West Europe and the United States, that is, to put it mildly, nonsense. We ourselves not only strive for cooperation with other states, but also believe that all states have the same right to cooperate with each other.

West Europe's historically developed ties with the United States or, let us say, the Soviet Union's relations with the European socialist countries are a political reality. It cannot but be taken into account if a realistic policy is to be built. Any other approach could disturb the prevailing equilibrium in Europe.

We are firmly convinced that Europe's future lies in lasting security with minimum arms on both sides, in broad interstate cooperation, in contacts and exchanges along all avenues and at all levels.

Question: How do you assess the prospects of economic and political relations between CEMA and the EEC?

Answer: I would answer this question briefly. CEMA and the EEC are now engaged in a joint quest for foundations of future relations of cooperation and have advanced in this work. In parallel with the establishment of CEMA-EEC relations, ties will begin to be established between their member countries and organs representing these associations. For its part, the Soviet Union is prepared to take this path and establish relations with the EEC. Once this happens, many interesting initiatives could be implemented.

Question: Signs of a new spirit in relations between the USSR and China have been emerging recently. Your speech in Vladivostok last year and also your visit to India confirmed that the Soviet Union strives for fully normalizing interstate relations with China. The withdrawal of a certain proportion of the Soviet troops from Mongolia served as an additional favorable signal. The Chinese, however, point to the situation in Cambodia as one of the chief obstacles to the full normalization of political relations. What is your opinion on this score?

Answer: You are right -- the Soviet Union is acting vigorously in a direction leading to the full normalization of relations between two major socialist countries -- the USSR and the PRC.

Trade, economic, scientific, technical, and cultural ties have been developing dynamically recently, and political consultations are being held on certain urgent international questions.

We attach great significance to the fact that the USSR and the PRC approach a number of major principled international questions from close positions. The Chinese leaders and we both emphasize that peace is needed to resolve internal tasks of social renewal.

Both countries have proclaimed that they will never be first to use nuclear weapons. We are resolutely opposed to the "Star Wars" program. China has a similar position. We are interested in everything the PRC does to regularize and modernize the economy, and we wholeheartedly wish the great neighboring people and the CPC successes in this difficult matter.

Yet there is still no full normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. I would not like to enter into polemics as to why this is so. I will refer just to the question you mentioned -- the Cambodian question.

This is not a question of Soviet-Chinese relations. But it seems to us that both the Soviet Union and the PRC must be interested in settling it. We firmly proceed from the premise that there is only one way to settle the Cambodian problem -- the political way. The desire for just such a settlement, so we understand, is growing. This is very important.

Question: What are the prospects for a political settlement of the Afghan question as a result of which Soviet forces would be withdrawn from the country and Afghan's full sovereignty and independence would be ensured?

Answer: I will begin by saying that Afghanistan is a sovereign and independent state now.

The policy of national reconciliation that Afghanistan has been conducting since the beginning of the year contains all the requisite ingredients for a political settlement in the country. This must be combined, of course, with a settlement of its external aspects -- in the sense of ensuring an end to outside interference in Afghan internal affairs. Talks on this are being conducted, as is known, between Afghanistan and Pakistan through the UN secretary general's personal representative.

There has been certain progress internally and externally. If certain forces had not interfered, if they had not sent massive supplies of modern armaments to the rebels, if they had not continued to train their combat groups outside Afghanistan and had not placed obstacles in the way of refugees' returning home, things would have proceeded more quickly.

But, I repeat, there has been progress.

The Afghan leadership has stated that within the framework of national reconciliation it is cooperating with the greatest variety, essentially with the majority of political forces and is prepared to reach agreement on setting up a coalition government. The question of the composition of the government is the Afghan people's prerogative and no one else's. It is a bold approach. It is a manifestation not of the weakness, but of the strength of the Afghan national democratic revolution.

The Soviet Union is not interfering and will not interfere in the Afghan comrades' choice of partners for the implementation of the national reconciliation program -- in their own country, among refugees and emigres abroad, and, perhaps, even you in Italy.

Sometimes it is said that the Soviet Union would only accept a political settlement of the Afghan problem that would leave Afghanistan in its "sphere of influence,"
[paragraph continues]

This assessment is quite mistaken. The Soviet Union has no spheres of influence anyway, and it is not seeking to create any. As for Afghanistan, we fully support the nonaligned movement's stance in favor of the country's remaining independent, sovereign, and nonaligned.

If Afghanistan also decides to be a neutral state, then that is the Afghan people's affair too.

The main thing is to make rapid progress on the path of an Afghan settlement on an honest, just basis.

Question: The Near East continues to be a hotbed of danger and at the same time a source of the most intractable problems. The USSR has repeatedly said that it supports the Palestinians' cause and has proposed the convening of an international conference involving all interested sides. Can you explain how, in the Soviet Union's view, progress should be made toward the attainment of this goal? What are the prospects for the resumption of relations between the USSR and Israel?

Answer: The Near East conflict is inveterate and a highly explosive situation. Its settlement is one of the most major international tasks.

In recent months the idea of an international conference on the Near East which would involve all interested sides and the permanent members of the Security Council has gained increasingly broad recognition.

The international conference is universal and flexible. There can be bilateral, trilateral, and multilateral talks held within its framework. All forms of contact and collaboration between the participants are appropriate.

If we are talking about the essence, the principled base of a political settlement of the Near East conflict, the observance of justice is central: Israeli troops must be withdrawn from the territories they have occupied since June 1967; the Arab people of Palestine's legal right to self-determination must be recognized, including their right to form their own state; all states in the Near East, including Israel, of course, must be reliably guaranteed the opportunity to live in conditions of peace and within secure, recognized borders.

Important events have recently taken place that have a direct bearing on the evolution of Near East affairs.

You ask about Soviet-Israeli relations. As far as diplomatic relations are concerned, I explained our position in one of my recent speeches. These relations can be restored if real progress is made toward reaching a Near East settlement. The only reason we have to treat Israel differently from any other state is its aggressive policy toward the Arabs.

Question: We all feel the need and the urgency of establishing a new international economic order. In this connection the question arises of developing countries' debts. Numerous proposals have been put forward to resolve this problem. What is the USSR's attitude? And what is the reason for the Soviet Union's new interest in GATT?

Answer: Establishing a new international economic order, ensuring international economy security, and seeking realistic ways to settle the debt problem are all issues that are close to us.

Every effort to build a more stable, secure world could prove to have little effect if international economic problems are not resolved at the same time on a just basis.

Countries in the capitalist West seem to be just beginning to realize the grave nature of these problems, including artificial restrictions on international trade, debt, unequal exchange, and so forth. But they approach the solutions to these problems using old neocolonialist methods. I can say quite certainly that this only promises to create new impasses and new complications and intensify the suffering of millions of people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, with all the attendant political consequences.

World economic problems, given that they are world problems, should be resolved by everyone, that is, on the basis of internationalization. All other methods are no more than palliatives. It is time everyone understood this -- otherwise, as they said in ancient Rome, a fire not quite extinguished can flare up with even greater strength.

The Soviet Union is prepared to cooperate with all countries in resolving these urgent problems of the world today.

I will speak only briefly on the subject GATT: It is one of those international mechanisms that can and, we believe, must be used to unite the efforts of all countries in the task of improving world economic relations. Hence our interest in GATT and in the multilateral trade talks being held within its framework.

Question: Let us move on to internal questions. At the 27th congress you stated the need for "radical reform" and "revolutionary changes" in the economic and social spheres with a view to carrying out within a relatively short time the transition to a new phase characterized by "intensive" economic development. During the year since then the new laws and resolutions have been adopted that alter the economic management of enterprises and ministries. Foreign trade has been reorganized, the Law on Individual Labor Activity has been approved, and the Draft Law on the State Enterprise (Association) has been put forward. However, the chief aspects of the economic mechanism of restructuring have not yet been determined -- which is precisely what the next Central Committee plenum will have to tackle. In what directions will this work proceed?

Answer: First of all, I will point out that the party has advanced the task of proceeding to a new quality of growth in the socialist society. This task is centered on the person, his initiative, and his readiness to go on building socialism and be the true master of his country.

The elevation of the human factor is closely linked with the further democratization of all aspects of the life of society. Without democracy there is no initiative, without democracy there is no direct participation in production management, without democracy there is no social justice, without democracy there is no involvement by everyone in the affairs of all of society.

Speaking of transformations in the national economy, we are switching from primarily administrative to primarily economic methods of management, to full economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet]. [paragraph continues]

In state planning and in financial policy the task is posed of ensuring the harmonious development of state enterprises and organizations, collaboration, and individual labor activity. We have to remove unfounded obstacles in the way of commodity-money relations and the transfer of enterprises to self-financing. The policy in the wages sphere is being substantially reorganized, with wages being made directly dependent on work results. The independence and economic responsibility of enterprises are being ensured. New foundations are being laid for activating trade and economic ties with foreign partners -- which, in particular, could bring mutual benefits to both Soviet and Italian enterprises.

Our chief efforts are aimed at creating a mechanism to accelerate economic development on the basis of socialist principles and advantages, which we once used badly.

Question: Following the January plenum, there is no longer any doubt that the transition to radical reforms is a very difficult matter and provokes opposition. In particular, at the June (1986) plenum you pointed especially to the "resistance" to renewal manifested in all spheres of proposed economic, social, cultural, ideological, and ethical changes. The impression is created that this resistance has increased since then, although you declared in your speech at the 20th Komsomol Congress that supporters of restructuring are setting the tone. You also said that restructuring does not have "political opponents" and that the difficulties at the present stage "concern us all," "for we are all children of our time."

An analysis of this resistance could show modern Soviet society in an interesting cross section. What is your view of this problem? What form does this resistance take? Are there spheres of society in which this resistance is more pronounced?

Answer: It would be unrealistic, to say the least, to think that such a major, revolutionary change, affecting the interests of millions upon millions of people and the whole of society, is proceeding easily.

I want to emphasize that restructuring is a long and difficult process. Some people are proving quick to realize the new demands on work, people, and duties at such a major turning point, while others are doing so slowly.

What do we mean when we speak of resistance to restructuring? It is a question of old approaches, of the inertia of old habits, fear of the new and of responsibility for specific things. We are also hindered by accumulated bureaucratic accretions.

But one thing is beyond doubt -- restructuring has penetrated deeply. All sections of the population are being drawn into the process. It affects the interests of practically every citizen. In conversations, letters, and speeches people speak and write of their support and demand one thing -- do not stop, continue restructuring, and definitely see through to the end what has begun.

Question: "There is no alternative." These are your words. Does this mean that you regard certain decisions, some of which will by no means be painless and will, probably, open up deep contrasts in Soviet society, as "inevitable"? At the same time, you have, time and again, condemned the fact that necessary decisions which were known long ago "had not been taken at the right time." We would like to ask you how it was possible for this situation to develop? Was it the result of "subjective" mistakes alone, or was it, in your view, compounded by very real defects in the functioning of mechanisms and structures of leadership, decisionmaking, and management?

Answer: The answer to this question was given at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum. I will confine myself to the main points: The Soviet people, following the path of October, have implemented unprecedented transformations in the political, economic, social, and spiritual spheres. I believe that there is no need for me to tell the Italian reader what the Soviet Union is today and what role it plays in the international arena. The roots of the difficulties which we have encountered in recent years lie not in the nature of the socialist system, but in the inadequate exploitation of its potential, not in socialist democracy as such, but in shortcomings in its application.

The reasons why socialism in our country has been failing to reveal its full potential and to display the richness of its content lie not only in the subjective sphere but also in the historical situation in which we found ourselves.³ The objective conditions in which we had to build a socialist society, for the first time ever, were exceedingly complex, not to mention grim -- the intervention, the Civil War, the economic blockade, the "cordon sanitaire," the military provocations and constant pressure from imperialism, and finally the fierce battle with fascism which cost the Soviet people tremendous efforts and sacrifices. Then the reconstruction of the most highly developed regions destroyed by the war -- and that in conditions of the "cold war" imposed by the West. This is the actual situation in which the Soviet people lived and fought, building and developing socialism.

Our current plans for the radical restructuring of all spheres of Soviet society's life are not the result of leisurely armchair deliberations. They are the expression of objective needs for major changes that have come to a head. Step by step we are proceeding toward our aim of bringing socialism's self-propulsion "motor" up to full revolutions in order to fully exploit its creative potential.

Question: In your speeches you are constantly returning to the theme of the "democratization of Soviet society," according it more and more space. Nonetheless, the broad discussion of this question has hardly begun and some people are already raising reservations and expressing doubts to the effect that a "surfeit" of democracy could present some kind of danger to the social system. You yourself have said that you do not regard this debate as anything negative since "it reflects a concern for the stability of society, as it were." In what way could democratization present a risk to stability?

Answer: We are deeply convinced that true democracy cannot harm socialism in any way. If only for the reason that by its very nature socialism is democracy -- government by the people. A danger to the cause of socialist building arises when bureaucratic lack of faith in the good sense and political awareness of the people gains the upper hand.

The party Central Committee has expressed itself with the utmost clarity on this question. The discussion of these questions in party organizations and labor collectives has shown that the course toward democratization is being espoused by the broadest masses. Existing differences are rather a matter of the scale, depth, or pace of the process. I consider this quite natural. This, after all, is not the least important of the characteristics which distinguish the democratic process.

Our current debates are debates among like-minded people concerned for the success of the transformations which have begun. We sincerely want the democratization of society to gather momentum and we are clearly aware that democracy has nothing in common with total license or anarchy; just as sensible circumspection has nothing in common with hedging one's bets.

Incidentally, I would like to note that the democratization process which is under way in our country is being misinterpreted in the bourgeois press. Clearly, some people would very much like to convince their readers and listeners that the Soviet Union has finally decided to come closer to Western-style democracy. I would say that quite the reverse is true. We are developing the original essence of the Leninist principles of Soviet socialist democracy in the light of the accumulated political and cultural potential of Soviet society and the people. Socialist democracy is both our aim, our condition, and a powerful means of restructuring.

Question: Democratization can mean many different things. For example, a change in election practice, an increase in the power of soviets, an extension of the rights of labor collectives, even to the point of introducing advanced forms of self-management, such as that envisaged by the new Law on the State Enterprise. Democratization can also mean new legal guarantees which protect each individual citizen against all-powerful apparatuses (state and party) and give them rights which have not been encountered before in the practice of Soviet society. Obviously some people believe that the Soviet people are not capable of taking "too strong" a dose of democracy. But you have said the opposite. How, in your view, should one approach demands for profound change in this sphere which would enable the human factor to have its full effect? Do you not consider it necessary for restructuring itself to carry out an extensive reform of state and public institutions? Finally, do you not believe that the opposition between "social rights" (the right to work, to housing, to education, to material security, and so forth) and "individual rights" (to free expression and spread of ideas, to political organization, to enter and leave the country, and so forth) is now surmountable not only in polemics with the West, but in the social and legal practice of the USSR today?

Answer: Your question contains an interpretation of certain problems that I do not accept. In particular, that we are starting the democratization process virtually from scratch. This is not so, of course. The October Revolution itself opened up a new era of affirmation of individual rights and freedoms, equality and justice. Indeed, were not the people themselves able by their own will to implement fundamental revolutionary transformations, uphold their independence in the struggle against fascism, resurrect a devastated country, and rise to the modern heights of social and cultural progress.

Sure, there have been difficulties and errors in our history which have hindered the development of socialist democracy, and there have been violations of socialist legality and democratic norms.

These are the realities of our historical path. We assess them as such. Restructuring embraces all spheres of life. As we carry it out we absorb the gains in social development and we learn the lessons of the past. Restructuring means deepening socialist democracy and developing the people's self-management. We are not breaking up our political system, but we are making fuller, more effective use of its potential.

Important new steps are in the offing. Legislation is in preparation aimed at making the democratization process more stable and irreversible. The sole aim is to strengthen even more consistently the power of the working people, to give them full freedom to work creatively, and to expand the whole system of guarantees of political and civic rights and freedoms for the Soviet people. Of course, our Soviet laws and extensive socioeconomic guarantees are the means to safeguard and protect these rights and freedoms. This fully accords with international pacts on human rights.

Question: When addressing the recent Komsomol congress, you stated that there can be no socialism without democracy. Does it not seem to you that there is a certain analogy between this assertion of yours and the view Enrico Berlinguer once expressed on democracy as a "universal asset"?

Answer: it is perfectly natural for politicians who have linked their lives and activity with the struggle for communist ideals to have given much thought to the significance and role of democracy in general and during socialist transformations in particular and inevitably to have approached it from various angles, taking account of the place and the time and the concrete political context. Their approach in principle is the same. It dates back to V.I. Lenin, who stressed that "there is no other path to socialism than through democracy and political freedom" (Complete Collected Works, Vol 12, p 44). I would add to that: There is no other path to the self-improvement and self-renewal of the socialism built in our country than through the deepening of democracy.

Democratization has a value of its own since it is through it -- in addition to the creation of the necessary material preconditions -- that the path to the creation of the conditions for the all-around development of each individual and his civic activeness and responsibility runs.

At the same time, democratization is real when it rests on the firm basis of social ownership and the absence of exploitation and when it ensures the mobilization of all society's intellectual and spiritual forces with the aim of transforming it and of giving socialism the most modern forms.

By virtue of this, democratization in all areas acts as the main instrument and guarantee of the whole cause of restructuring.

Question: The CPSU Central Committee Politburo has finally abandoned the project to divert part of the water of certain Siberian rivers and has also decided to announce an open competition for the best design for the monument to the Victory over nazism and fascism which is to be constructed in Moscow. In both instances it has been openly emphasized that this result was due to the role of "public opinion." These are interesting and important signs. What steps do you consider both necessary and feasible at present -- first and foremost in information -- so as to accord public opinion the right to express its view, to take part in decisionmaking, and to become directly involved in the most important events as they take place?

Answer: We are convinced our socialist society, moving resolutely along the path of restructuring and democratic renewal, is extremely interested in ensuring everyone -- be he a worker, kolkhoz member, scientist, or representative of the artistic intelligentsia -- makes an independent, individual, and original contribution both to the discussion of plans and decisions and to the efforts to implement them.

The mass media are playing and will continue to play a tremendous role here. Of course, they are not the only channel for the people to express their will. But they are the most representative and mass-scale platform for openness. The party is interested in ensuring the citizen's voice is heard from that platform without "interference" and that it not only talks about the discussions under way in the country -- discussions for which no areas are off limits -- but is also a guarantee of the democratic monitoring of the correctness of decisions and of their correspondence with the interests and needs of the masses, and subsequently of the fulfillment of these decisions. [paragraph continues]

The Central Committee demands that leaders at all levels give prompt and businesslike answers to questions in the press and to criticism leveled at them. A law on the press is currently being prepared, and its adoption will consolidate still further the mass media's legal status.

Of course, the effectiveness of public opinion depends to a large extent on how competent it is and whether it possesses reliable information. We are sure that a society which is consciously and actively struggling for its physical and moral health has no need to conceal its ailments -- this merely complicates their treatment. The CPSU sees the broadening of openness as a powerful means of activating public opinion in the interests of the country's socioeconomic and spiritual renewal.

Question: The Soviet intelligentsia, for all its evident disparity of views, has responded readily to the renewal and has mobilized its support. The congresses of the cinematographers, writers, and journalists unions demonstrated great liveliness and will to struggle. Nevertheless, it seems to us, quite a few problems remain concerning freedom of self-expression and the relationship between the leading role of the party and the creative work of cultural and artistic figures.

How do you regard this range of question?

Answer: I am familiar with the discussions held in our creative unions, and I must say I did not see any attempt in them to set the intelligentsia off against the party. On the contrary, creative people and the whole intelligentsia have actively supported the party's course of restructuring and democratization. The interests of the intelligentsia and the goals of developing Soviet society coincide. The artist and the party are proceeding toward but a single goal -- the goal of renewing society on socialist principles.

Impassioned discussion is going on among writers and composers, in theatrical circles, and among cinema workers. The discussion is sometimes pointed. People, including the intelligentsia, must become accustomed to living and working in conditions of expanding democracy. Problems and clashes of views must be resolved during this democratic process by the participants themselves, among whom communists must occupy a place worthy of their calling.

Restructuring has revealed in our intelligentsia an enormous potential for belief in socialism and readiness to fight for its ideas and values and augment them in their creative work. We sense real support for the party's course of restructuring. We therefore have no doubt that the Soviet intelligentsia will play its assigned role in restructuring the country.

Question: The 1977 Constitution assigns the party the role of the guiding force of society. However, at the January plenum you said that "a kind of absolutization of the prevailing forms of organizing society had occurred. Moreover, such notions were in actually identified with the essential features of socialism, regarded as immutable, and put forward as dogmas, leaving no place for objective scientific analysis." This assertion appears to us capable of very many interpretations. Does it also affect the concept of the party?

Answer: The party adopts a Marxist-Leninist standpoint in interpreting the processes taking place, in developing strategy and tactics, and in conducting organizational and ideological work. [paragraph continues]

Restructuring began on the party's initiative and is proceeding under its leadership -- and this is the most important prerequisite for its achieving success, and it accords with the interests of the working people and socialism.

We have learned the lessons of the past, and not just in our country. We know that the party cannot count on its leading role being exercised automatically. This is fraught with serious consequences. If the party allows any lag to occur in its interpretation of the objective processes taking place in society, it will fail to perceive urgent problems in time, will delay over their solution, and difficulties in developing both the party and the country are then inevitable.

That is why the party itself must constantly develop and always be engaged in searching and renewing the forms and methods of its activity. That is why it started restructuring with itself. Here the all-around development of democracy within the party and implementation of Leninist principles of cadre selection and placement at every level of collective leaderships acquires special significance. Primary party organizations' powers are expanding. The personal responsibility of every communist for his assigned work is increasing, and not just for work. The improvement of society and purity and honesty on the part of every party member are inseparable.

Question: You were recently in Czechoslovakia and recalled the events of 1968. Can we ascertain your opinion of this issue?

Answer: The assessment of the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia is primarily a matter for the Czechoslovak comrades themselves.

Since that time the leadership of the CPCZ, headed by Comrade G. Husak, has accomplished a great amount of work. Czechoslovakia has moved forward considerably in many areas. I was personally able to convince myself of this during my recent visit. We saw that, proceeding from their own conditions, the Czechoslovak comrades are also seeking ways to improve socialism. They have their own problems, and they are solving them.

Question: A year has passed since the Chernobyl tragedy. What thoughts did it prompt for the USSR, and what conclusions have been reached in the field of energy policy, information, and an international policy capable of ensuring maximal security?

Answer: What we lived through was an earnest lesson for us. We were convinced yet again that, in the conditions of scientific and technological revolution, questions of equipment reliability and safety and questions of discipline, order, and organization in the operation of complex equipment are of the utmost significance.

The Chernobyl events placed bluntly on the agenda the question of standards for ensuring the international safety of nuclear power engineering. We came up with the initiative of holding a special session of the IAEA's General Conference in Vienna. An international machinery is taking shape that will enable us to resolve the most important questions of the safety of nuclear power engineering. Intensive international cooperation in this matter is absolutely essential today. We are ready for this.

I will say one more thing. Chernobyl not only taught us a great deal, it is continuing to teach us, making us think, analyze, and compare. It is actively stimulating the development of new thinking, of seeing the world from positions of today's global problems. The lessons of Chernobyl are important for all mankind. [paragraph continues]

It is important to remember these lessons, which are common for us all. They reveal still more clearly the responsibility of all states for averting nuclear war.

Question: Surmounting the old positions and forms of ties, how is one to understand today the relations between the progressive forces of the entire world? How can internationalism express itself today?

Answer: The relations between progressive forces assume many forms. They frequently invest the very concept "progress" with different ideological and political content. At the same time, their collaboration is broadening before our eyes; it is already possible now to say -- on a planetary scale.

I am confident that solidarity and cooperation are more essential than ever before, because an ever increasing number of problems are acquiring a universal nature and demand international approaches.

If we are speaking about the communist parties, then each one of them grew up on its national soil. But, while expressing the fundamental interests of the working class and the working people of their own countries, they all have a common goal -- peace and socialism. This is the main factor uniting them. At the same time, however, internationalism is always specific. Its effectiveness is determined by practical cooperation. In contemporary conditions any kind of special mechanism -- even more so any "center" -- is absolutely unnecessary and, moreover, inadvisable. I am unaware of any plans or proposals for its resurrection on the part of any party whatsoever. Not only does the determination of policy and forms of activity relate entirely to the competence of each individual party, cooperation itself is possible only on a voluntary and equitable basis.

Frankly speaking, I find incomprehensible the caution current in places within our movement regarding proposals for multilateral meetings of the world's Communists. This at a time when other political forces -- even far from progressive forces -- are actively pursuing their own international meetings. In our view, this issue must be approached without prejudice, outmoded apprehensions and stereotypes must be cast aside, the new situation must be viewed in a new way.

But if we are speaking about the relations between all the progressive forces of today's world, then it is our conviction that the problem of averting nuclear war must be the foundation, nucleus, and pivot of the relations between them. In our view all other problems should be subordinated to this one.

Over the last 2 years I have had numerous contacts with, for instance, representatives of socialist and social democratic parties -- from West Europe to Japan. During these contacts no one has lost their own identity but, as it seems to me, they have succeeded in finding a common language on a number of key questions.

We have very durable ties with many revolutionary democratic parties and national liberation movements; we have established contacts with the "Greens" in a number of countries; we have good relations with such influential political forces as, for instance, the Indian National Congress. Our social organizations meet systematically with the representatives of dozens of diverse antiwar and other movements.

Dialogue is the command of the times; it is the expression of the world's interdependence.

The world today is truly a complex, contradictory, variegated, world, a multicolored world, so to speak. It can no longer be depicted in two colors: black and white or red and white.

We are convinced the world must be looked at with eyes open, without prejudice; we must pursue everything drawing the progressive forces and parties together, without, naturally, papering over the differences and contradictions. In deed rather than word it is necessary to respect the right of others to independence, to their own viewpoint, to the quest for original paths to the truth -- just as our own right to the very same thing.

MEDICAL SCIENCES ACADEMY ANNOUNCES NEW LEADERS

PM161349 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Medical Scientists' Session"]

[Text] The session of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences General Assembly which opened 13 May is devoted to the restructuring of medical science in the light of the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum decisions.

The question of electing a president of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences was examined. The participants in the session granted a request by Academician N.N. Blokhin, who has decided to concentrate his activity on scientific research, that he be released from the duties of president. The scientists warmly thanked N.N. Blokhin, who headed the academy for many years.

The session also granted a request by Academician S.S. Debov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, that he be released from his duties.

Elections for president and vice president of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences were then held.

Academician V.I. Pokhrovskiy, a famous scientist in epidemiology and infectious diseases and director of the USSR Ministry of Health Central Scientific Research Institute for Epidemiology, was elected president of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences.

Academician A.G. Chuchalin, a specialist in the therapy and pulmonology, was elected vice president of the academy.

Academician Ye.I. Chazov, USSR minister of health, delivered a report at the session.

This was followed by discussion on the report. V.A. Grigoryev, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Science and Education Establishments Department, is taking part in the assembly's work.

The session of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences General Assembly continues.

HISTORIANS COUNTER VIEW ON TROTSKIY, LENIN

PM121601 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 19, 10 May 87 pp 11, 13

[Feature under the rubric "Returning to the Theme" -- first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] At the beginning of this year, MOSCOW NEWS [MN] carried excerpts from the speech which Professor Yuriy Afanasyev, rector of the Moscow State Institute of Historian-Archivists, made at the Learned Council. Almost immediately, MN editors received a telephone call from Professor F. Vaganov, head of the USSR Chief Archives, who said that he considered the publication of these excerpts to be a mistake. Professor Vaganov was invited to express his own views in our weekly. Three months later, however, Professor A. Nosov came to the MN office, bringing with him a letter signed by four Soviet historians. The letter, he said, had been agreed upon with Professor Vaganov. Frankly, we don't quite understand why the four scholars took such a cumbersome path. Surely, the editors would have in any case treated their letter in all seriousness, even provided there were no references to the head of the USSR Chief Archives. Below we publish the letter in full, with nothing changed in it. Since many of the questions raised in the letter are addressed to Professor Yuriy Afanasyev, we deemed it necessary to acquaint him with the letter so that he would have an opportunity to reply.

Apropos of Yu. Afanasyev's Article [subhead]

The appearance of Professor Yu. Afanasyev's material, "Energy of Historical Knowledge", in MOSCOW NEWS (No 2, January 11, 1987) cannot but be welcomed by non-Marxist historiographers, cannot but puzzle and bewilder the young students of history, and arouse the indignation of the older generation of Soviet scholars engaged in the study of the history of the CPSU and the USSR. What's it all about? Why has this unscientific sensational and opinionated material caused such a small ruckus? If one looks into its content and intent this will become clear.

Essentially, Yu. Afanasyev is calling upon historians to revise the historical road covered by the Soviet people over the past 70 years, the road traced by the historiography of the USSR and the CPSU. It appears, according to Yu. Afanasyev, that Soviet historical science is "stagnant" and in many respects "lagging behind the present-day world level" (p.8).

What "world level" does he mean, and what branches of science? (Perhaps some auxiliary branches of historical studies?) Hasn't the author realized as yet the contrast between Marxist and bourgeois methodology in historical science? And doesn't he know about the Leninist principle of partisanship in science? Restructuring does not mean destruction; it means construction, an ascent to new heights in historical science. In this ascent we draw upon the best in the historiography of the CPSU and the USSR. And there is much to draw upon, indeed. Yu. Afanasyev believes that during the past 15 to 20 years, the historians' impulse began to "run low and dam down" in studying the history of the October Revolution. But how, then, can one explain the appearance, precisely in that period, of some very outstanding scientific works, among them two books of the 3rd volume of the multivolume edition of the history of the CPSU, three volumes of The Great October Revolution by Academician I. Mints, the monographs by V. Anikeev, A. Sovokin, I. Petrov and S. Murashev (the work by the latter has been translated into Spanish), and hundreds of other books and articles. [paragraph continues]

These works, published on the occasion of Lenin's birth centenary for the 50th, 60th and 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, expound the Leninist (and not Stalinist) concept of the October Revolution and the Bolshevik Party's Leninist strategy and tactics in the revolution, and demonstrate the international significance of Leninism and of the October Revolution's experience. During that same period, many scientific conferences and discussions were held, including criticism of the "new trend" in historical science led by P. Volobuyev.

The books present thousands of heroes of the October Revolution. At the same time they, and some other works, criticize the stand taken during the revolution by Trotskiy (to "wait" for the Congress of Soviets, Lenin argued, would be "utter idiocy, or sheer treachery"), and by Kamenev and Zinovyev who informed the enemy about the Central Committee's decision on an armed uprising. Their anti-Leninist stand during the October Revolution was leading straight to the formation of a Trotskiy-Zinovyev bloc aimed at frustrating Lenin's plan of socialist construction. In this connection we deem it necessary to draw attention to Yu. Afanasyev's strange and fallacious stance in appraising the Party's Leninist general course of building socialism.

He regrets that the textbooks on the history of the CPSU "have still not overcome, and sometimes directly reproduce, Stalin's scheme of the victory of the October Revolution and socialist construction in the USSR -- a scheme that is far from the truth" (p. 9).

The author advanced a postulate, providing no proof or arguments, the reason being that he has none. The CPSU Programme adopted by the 27th Party Congress said that following the winning of political power by the working class, the victories on the Civil War fronts and the rout of foreign military interventionists, the Party set about implementing Lenin's plan of socialist construction. "Relying on the enthusiasm of the masses, repulsing the attacks by right-wing and leftist opportunists, and strengthening its ideological, political and organizational unity," the Programme says, "the Party undeviatingly pursued the Leninist general line aimed at building socialism." It was this Leninist plan of socialist construction and its implementation, and not some non-existent Stalin's "scheme" of the revolution that Soviet historians wrote about in their works.

As is known, Trotskiy was the only person in the Party who laid claims to his own scheme of the Revolution. But it is also commonly known that our Party rejected, resolutely and irrevocably, these claims aimed at substituting Trotskiyism for Leninism.

Yu. Afanasyev regrets that the textbooks on the history of the CPSU treat Lenin's "letter to the Congress" "one-sidedly", as he alleges. "All positive characteristics addressed to would-be opposition members have been deleted, he says. But everyone knows, just as Yu. Afanasyev himself does, that in studying the history of the Party our students make use, not only of the textbooks, but mainly of Lenin's works, among them "letters to the Congress".

Yu. Afanasyev mentions only Lenin's letters "To the Congress", passing over in silence the long and fierce struggle waged by Lenin and the Party, before and after the October Revolution, against Trotskiy and the Trotskiyites on the questions of the character, the motive forces and perspectives of the revolution in Russia, especially the victory of socialism in our country. [paragraph continues]

This struggle began way back in 1903, at the 2nd Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. It flared up again in 1905 when Trotskiy put forward his adventurous permanent revolution "theory", and it continued through the period marked by the onslaught of reaction, in the years of the revolutionary upsurge against the Trotskiyite August bloc, as well as 1915-1916 when Lenin worked out the theory on the possibility of socialism being victorious first in a few countries and even in a single capitalist country, and, finally, on the eve of the armed uprising.

After the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, our Party, led by Lenin, had to hold three all-Russia discussions. The first one was held in 1918 on the question of the Brest Peace, the second in 1920-1921 on the role of trade unions in building socialism, and the third in 1923-1924 on inner-Party issues.

Underlying all these discussions was the question of the possibility of building socialism in our country. Trotskiy and the Trotskiyites did not believe that it was possible to build socialism in a single country. The CPSU and the international communist movement censured and rejected Trotskiyism.

Foreign readers (and MOSCOW NEWS goes to 140 countries) should know about this history of struggle against Trotskiyism. What's more they should also know that after the victory of fascism in Germany in 1933, Trotskiy stepped up the struggle against the Communist party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and the Communist International and against the building of socialism, publicly declaring that the approaching war would inevitably spell the defeat of the USSR and collapse of the Soviet system. Technically, economically and militarily, he said, imperialism was incomparably stronger, adding that if it was not paralyzed by a revolution in the West, it would sweep away the social system born of the October Revolution. Trotskiy's stance called for a forcible overthrow of the Soviet government and a taking advantage of the Soviet Union's "inevitable" defeat in the impending war against fascism to further his own ends as "leader". Such was the finale of Trotskiy's struggle against Leninism, the CPSU (B) and the Soviet system. Yu. Afanasyev, who has been studying non-Marxist historiography for twenty years now, could have, without running any "risk" and as benefits a scholar, made "comparable evaluations" of the stand taken by Lenin and our party and, on the other hand, by Trotskiy and the Mensheviks, on the issues of the revolution and of the construction of socialism. It is not a matter of "labels" (such assessments of the opportunists' activities were made at the 13th Party Conference, the 13th, 14th and 15th Party Congresses, the 15th Party Conference and the 7th enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist International); it is rather a question of the essential positions held by the anti-Leninist trends and groups, and of the struggle waged against their anti-popular and anti-revolutionary line. Lenin stressed on more than one occasion that the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution would have been impossible without routing Menshevism. The Trotskiyite line was leading to a restoration of capitalism in the USSR. E.H. Carr, an English historian, who has for many years been studying the history of the October Revolution, admits that Western-type bourgeois democracy and capitalism, which the Mensheviks craved for, were unsuitable for Russia, so Lenin's policy was the only conceivable one under Russia's specific conditions.

Lenin's works, the CPSU documents, the works by M. Gorbachev and by other Party and state leaders, as well as the Soviet Historians' monographs are all being studied by our students. Today, with the reconstruction under way, they are showing an ever greater interest in the 27th CPSU Congress and in the heroic history of the CPSU and the Soviet people who have covered a road comparable to a century.

The energy of historical knowledge should be directed towards a revolutionary restructuring of all aspects of Soviet society's life and history, and towards inculcating among the younger people a sense of historical responsibility for and pride in their homeland, in its heroic history and the present day.

Regrettably, Yu. Afanasyev's article does not serve these aims and can only disorientate foreign readers, especially those who know the history of the CPSU and the USSR.

Doctors of Science (History), Professors:

P. Soboleva, head of the CPSU History Chair, the natural sciences faculties, Moscow State University

A. Nosov, head of the CPSU History Chair, Moscow Forest Engineering Institute

L. Shirikov, Professor, the CPSU History Chair, the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee

S. Murashev, head of the CPSU History Chair, Moscow Semashko Medical Stomatological Institute.

"Talking of The Past, We Must Keep The Future of Socialism in Mind" By Yuriy Afanasyev [subhead]

Indeed it is high time we made the issue absolutely clear by outlining the magnitude of responsibility demanded today from every one of us in the matters of conscience, civic position and social action.

Two years ago, the April Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee for the first time delineated a historic opening. It was, to a great extent, different from the 1956 opening in that it was more difficult and more promising. It would be absurd to believe that, should we lose the chance now, it would remain open till some other time, as a reserve. Therefore, we will not lose it. We can't afford to. As the millennium draws to a close, world history is pushing ahead and is in no mood to patiently wait another 15 or 20 years for us to catch up. Our people's revolutionary energy and hope cannot be kept in a freezer. Mikhail Gorbachev is right a thousand times when he insistently and repeatedly hammers this or some such idea home.

Will my opponents be kind enough to accept this idea as the measure of earnestness in our argument?

It is evident that the future of Soviet and world socialism depends, in a great measure, on the timely comprehension of the past and the frankness of our today's self-awareness. Therefore, I must frankly say that for me the most important point in the group letter by Party historians is the definitive statement of their non-acceptance of the very nature of the perestroika.

To my mind, the central point in the letter is this: "Restructuring does not mean destruction; it means construction, as ascent to new heights of historical science." This is stated with the well-familiar "monumentality". Yet the formula is grammatical and political nonsense. The prefix "re" in words like "remake, rebuild" does not simply mean building or extending. In Russian, the prefix implies both destruction and construction. The two processes are as indivisible as the two sides of a coin. The perestroika certainly implies construction, but not on a vacant site. It means the restructuring of already occupied space, think with well-established economic, political and ideological structures and formations, of which the most valuable, worthwhile and promising elements ought to be used as the foundation sine qua non, while others ought to be discarded as dead weight slowing down the development of socialism's potential. [paragraph continues]

I wonder if my opponents can tell me how the new methods of economic management can be established without destroying the old ones. How can democracy prevail without destroying bureaucracy? How can new thinking be mastered without overcoming the old dogmatic thinking? And more specifically, how can the new historic vision of the Soviet society be attained without doing away with the primitive cliches, deliberate silences and even distortions?

Nevertheless, your formula for restructuring is a position rather than an absurdity. Let's take a closer look at it.

Let's begin with the situation existing in Party historiography. It is not according to Afanasyev that it is "stagnant", as the signatories of the letter allege. I am just one of those scholars who share the opinions voiced at the All-Union Conference of Social Scientists. During the conference, many unflattering comments were made, specifically, about textbooks that can be read only "at the point of a pistol". At the recent Congress of the Young Communists League, Mikhail Gorbachev once again stressed the need for a new, honest and bold book on the history of our native land and our Party, a book that would not pass over dramatic moments or contain blank spots. Don't you think this sounds relevant?

Presuming that the historical sciences have seen no stagnation in the past decades, could you please indicate at least one book published before 1985 which dealt not with the "developed socialism's successes", but with, say, the mechanisms of development retardation? I would much rather do without this rhetorical question, if the letter of the four had not summed up the situation in "the historiography of the CPSU and the USSR" with such flagrant complacency.

Well, their sincerity is much better than feigned zeal for the perestroika. At any rate, it helps evaluate the difficulty of restructuring the psychological stereotypes in the minds of college and university teachers. It is very sad to have to note, in our time, the social passivity and unthinking conformism on the part of many people, living the principle, "We have been taught so". However, the motto, "We have taught so, and we will continue teaching so" is much much worse.

Party history is no rigid code, and the teachers of history must be able to teach themselves better.

My opponents believe that there was no such thing as Stalin's scheme of the victory of the October Revolution and the construction of socialism. What else then underlies the CONCISE COURSE whose significance has not yet been fully exposed in our literature? Let us leave its detailed analysis to historiographic treatises and discussions (but certainly not to the pogroms the four historians have mentioned under the name of "discussions" in connection with the criticism of the "new trend"). I would only like to point out the distinctive features of that scheme, which for all practical purposes reduced Party struggle inside the workers' and democratic movement, treating the clash of opinions, the search for the correct revolutionary approaches and the differences inside the Party leadership as the results of somebody's ill intent and scheming. In retrospect, the groups that came together in the process were labeled, "anti-Party groupings" motivated by counterrevolutionary purposes. Differences in political views and convictions were dished out as fantastic criminal intentions. It was this version of Party history, first formulated in the CONCISE COURSE, that was being subsequently reproduced in publications on the subject.

Lenin's position was fundamentally different. Lenin thought in broad categories. For him, the objective analysis of the masses' position with respect to the revolution and the correlation of classes always came first. He demanded that historical personages were estimated according to their actual deserts at various stages of revolutionary struggle, that political wavering was not "blamed on them personally", but social roots of dissent were revealed. Lenin knew how to take the political evolution of Party workers into consideration, and never allowed their subsequent behaviour to overshadow their past, nor relied on his past attitudes in estimating their actions under new and for ever changing conditions.

Why shouldn't we note the following generalization by Lenin: "On the eve of the October Revolution in Russia, and immediately after it, a number of very good Communists in Russia committed an error, one which our people are now loath to recall. Why are they loath to recall it? Because, unless there is a particular reason for it, it is wrong to recall mistakes which have been completely set right."

The signatories of the letter pointed out that Afanasyev allegedly referred exclusively to Lenin's "Letters to the Congress" while "passing over in silence the long and fierce struggle waged by Lenin and the Party, before and after the October Revolution, against Trotskiy and the Trotskiyites..." It is not altogether clear what is being insinuated here. Is it an attempt to charge the author with reticence on a sharp issue? Or a hint at that he has some ill intent? The time is long overdue that we all realize that the argument of "passing things over in silence" and the like, have long lost their value. Nor do they bear on the present scholarly dispute, because there is not a word on either Trotskiy or Trotskiyism in my statement.

Nobody, myself included, pretends to know the absolute truth. Along with the new textbook on Party history now under preparation, other publications of a purely research nature ought to appear, discussions ought to be encouraged. Archive materials and other sources which used to be suppressed or disregarded ought to be introduced into wide use. In many cases, new interpretations and evaluations of certain events, phenomena and personalities from national history are due to appear. I personally have got more questions than answers. All of us are looking forward to getting these answers through the in-depth analysis of problems pertaining to Party history.

What we need is not the "revision of the Soviet people's historic trek", nor a renunciation of revolutionary memories, or the memories of the Great Patriotic War which are surely dear and sacred to us, but the revision of time-serving lectures and textbooks so as we could work conscientiously and thoughtfully on building the future.

It is noteworthy that the qualities emphasized by Mikhail Gorbachev, namely: honesty and courage, are the most important ethical and political condition for successful research.

It should be also borne in mind that the past, especially the recent difficult past, doesn't disappear the way scenery passing before the windows of an express train does. Not only do we continue to discuss it; we also carry it in our hearts and in our memories. The forthcoming renovation of socialist society certainly implies a fresh and utterly unprejudiced look at our national history.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN REVIEWS CROP SOWING PROGRESS

PM171317 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 15 May 87 p 1

[N. Osychkin "Agricultural Review" column: "Time Is Pressing, Sowers!"]

[Text] This year the spring has given crop farmers very little time to complete the sowing campaign within the best possible time limit. The first half of May is already drawing to a close, and the machines to sow the early grasses have still not gone out into the fields in the European part of the country. The time for the sowing of corn, sunflowers, potatoes, vegetables, and feed crops is passing. If only the seeds for a good harvest could be planted in double-quick time!

Success in springtime field work is achieved by those who boldly apply progressive labor methods and strictly observe agrotechnical demands. The sowing campaign is progressing smoothly in Kijursk, Orel, Tula, and Tambov Oblasts. Wishing to catch up with time, people in many places there have applied the flow cycle method. Essentially, it means organizing two-shift working by seeding machines -- from 0500 to 2200 hours. In previous years, only one crew was sowing at this time; now two crews work for more than 8 hours each.

"As a result of this," M. Berezin, machine operator at Tambov's 50-Letiya VLKSM Kolkhoz, remarked, "our productivity has increased by 30 percent, the quality of work has improved, and there are opportunities to work on personal farms. After all, sowing must be done there, too...."

The prevailing springtime conditions were very correctly assessed on this Tambov farm, and specific measures were taken to speed up field work. After all, if the flow cycle method was introduced everywhere and work was skillfully organized, the time needed to complete the sowing campaign could be reduced by one-third. And time is running out very fast. In the RSFSR, for example, only 15.3 million hectares have been sown to spring grain crops. This is only 20 percent of the planned area. Furthermore, "damage repair work" has been done to winter cereal crops and perennial grasses on 2.2 million hectares. A total area of 42 million hectares had been sown by 11 May last year. While many farms in the Kuban, Stavropol Kray, and Lipetsk Oblast have almost completed the sowing campaign, plan fulfillment in Kuybyshev, Smolensk, and Ivanovo Oblasts is below 10 percent. Tatar machine operators have only just started taking their machines out in the fields. The cause of the lag lies not so much in the adverse weather conditions as in the notorious phenomenon of vacillation, breaches of labor and technological discipline, and poor organizational work by farm leaders and agro-industrial complex specialists. It is important for all services everywhere to operate around the clock, and also to ensure that targets are overfulfilled by each machine operators' collective with excellent quality of sowing work.

Springtime field work is at its height in the Ukraine. Winter cereal crops in the republic's central, western, and southern parts are forming stems. Spring crops have been planted on 13.4 million hectares, which represents 86 percent of the plan. Even sprouting occurred in many places in the wake of the recent rainfall. Machine operators in Vinnitsa, Ivano-Frankovsk, Ternopol, Rovno, and Chernovitsy Oblasts are now sowing the last few thousand hectares. And yet plan fulfillment stands at only 40-50 percent in Voroshilovgrad, Zaporozhye, Dnepropetrovsk, and Kharkov Oblasts. The weather is no justification there, either. Last week it was warm and sunny. What is primarily needed is greater responsibility by agro-industrial complex collectives for observing the schedules and improving the quality of sowing. [paragraph continues]

This equally applies to farms in Belorussia and Latvia, where not even one-third of the land allocated to spring crops has been sown, and also to Estonia, where plan fulfillment is only 31 percent.

The shock labor front of springtime field work has now moved to the country's eastern regions, where 15 May marks the beginning of the best period for sowing the main food crop -- spring wheat. The most important task now facing crop farmers in the Urals, the Transurals region, Siberia, and North Kazakhstan is to complete the sowing campaign on vast areas in a matter of days and to provide guarantees of a good harvest. More than 2.7 million hectares, 10 percent of the plan, have been sown to spring crops in Kazakhstan. The first few hundred thousand hectares have been sown to cereal crops in Altay and Krasnoyarsk Krays, the Bashkir ASSR, and Orenburg Oblast.

Now there is not a single hour to be wasted in the sowing of row crops. Some 1.9 million hectares have been sown to grain corn against 3.7 million hectares at the same time last year. This work is almost completed in Moldavia, and yet its end is nowhere in sight in the Ukraine, the North Caucasus, the Central Chernozem Zone, and the Volga Valley. In order not to delay the ripening of cobs, specialists recommend that more use be made of early-ripening hybrid seeds. People who have decided to cultivate all corn only in accordance with grain technology [zernovaya tekhnologiya] have acted correctly.

Favorable conditions have developed now for the cultivation of oil-producing and protein crops. In particular, there has been a significant rise in the purchase price of sunflowers. Substantial additional revenues will be earned by farms from the sale of soybeans, rape, and other oil-producing crops. It has been estimated that, provided the purchases plan is fulfilled, kolkhozes and sovkhoses will earn an additional amount of about R1 billion. An impressive sum, you must agree. The introduction of return sales of cake, meal, and mixed feeds will make a noticeable contribution to the consolidation of the feed base of stock raising. There has been an increase in the sale of machines, fertilizers, and pesticides which have been in short supply, as well as of construction materials which are in great demand.

In this context, assiduous stewards have been expanding the area sown to oil-producing crops. Some 1.6 million hectares, which is 41 percent of the plan, have been sown to sunflowers. This work has been successfully tackled in Kabardino-Balkar and Chechen-Ingush ASSR's. The leading position in the Ukraine has been taken by Vinnitsa Oblast kolkhozes and sovkhoses, which have sown more sunflowers than planned. Cherkassy, Odessa, Kirovograd, and Sumy Oblasts have almost fulfilled their plans. Voroshilovgrad, Zaporozhye, and Donetsk Oblasts are lagging considerably. Some 200,000 hectares in the country have already been sown to seed rape. It would be purposeful in the interests of solving the protein problem, to sow as much soybeans as possible on irrigated land.

Beet growers are also in a hurry, approaching the 3 million mark in terms of hectares sown. In Moldavia and the North Caucasus they have already started tending beet shoots. Cotton sowing is almost at an end. And yet fiber flax occupies only 386,000 hectares, which is 39 percent of the plan. Farms in Kalinin, Smolensk, and Kostroma Oblasts in particular are among the laggards. Potatoes have been planted on 793,000 hectares, or 29 percent of the planned areas. Vegetable crops have been planted on 709,000 hectares.

Particular attention must be devoted right from springtime to laying the foundations of a firm feed base on farms. We are talking about sowing oil-producing, pulse, melon, and root crops in good time and improving the meadows and pastures. So far, annual grasses have been planted on 3.4 million hectares, and silage corn and green feed on 2.4 million hectares. [paragraph continues]

This is equivalent to half the area planted by the same date last year. Insufficient concern is being shown for increasing feed production and improving feed quality by farms and agro-industrial complex leaders and specialists in Lithuania, the Tatar ASSR, and Chelyabinsk, Odessa, and Samarkand Oblasts. This year, 1987, must become the year of feed crops in the full sense of the word. The struggle for feed crops must be waged as persistently as that for grain crops!

'MOST FARMS' OVERCOMING PROBLEMS OF LATE SPRING

PM171345 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 87 First Edition pp 1, 2

["Agricultural Review" by O. Andreyev: "Rayon Agro-Industrial Associations -- Headquarters of the Sowing Campaign"]

[Excerpt] The USSR Central Statistical Administration reports that as of 11 May 22.7 million hectares had been sown to grain and pulse crops (excluding corn) -- 25 percent of the total area earmarked for these crops. Some 3.4 million hectares have been sown to cotton (99 percent), 2.6 million hectares to sugar beet (78 percent), 1.6 million hectares to sunflower (41 percent), and 800,000 hectares to potatoes (29 percent of the earmarked area).

This is a busy period in the country's fields. Even experienced grain growers do not recall such a late spring. It has delayed the sowing campaign in many regions by almost 1 month. The situation is also complex in the feed crop fields. In previous years the livestock was already on pasture land in the first half of May, while the "green production line" was working in all southern zones. This year, however, grass sprouted and the herds were put out to grass only recently even in the south. The vast amount of work in the fields, and in places it is even greater as a result of the considerable reseeding of winter crops, has to be done according to schedules that are immeasurably tighter than usual.

In comparison with the same date last year, the areas sown are 18.7 million hectares less for grain crops, 724,000 hectares less for potatoes, 610,000 hectares less for sugar beet, and 173,000 hectares less for vegetables.

The sowing campaign picked up speed considerably last week, despite the rainfall which hindered the progress of springtime work. This proves that most farms and rayons are skillfully overcoming the difficulties. [passage omitted]

RAPOS ROLE IN RESTRUCTURING EXAMINED, SCORED

PM140925 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 87 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Rayon Agro-Industrial Association: To Eradicate Red Tape and Bureaucratic Administration and Establish More Direct Ties With Farms"]

[Text] This is the 2d year that rayon agro-industrial associations [RAPO] have been functioning under conditions of a unified agro-industrial complex. They have done a great deal during this time. The rural economy is strengthening, as are ties among partners. The RAPO's have many levers for substantially improving matters, including for broadening the independence and enhancing the responsibility of kolkhozes and sovkhoses.

Assimilating the new economic mechanism is painstaking, labor-intensive work. As is known, major changes have been made to the planning, funding, and encouragement of production. It is the job of the RAPO's to introduce them into practice. Workers of Minsk Oblast's Nesvizhskiy RAPO, Latvia's Kraslavskiy RAPO, and others are consistently assimilating normative methods, for example. But, at the same time, inertia of thinking, parochialism, and parasitic sentiments are making themselves felt. Sometimes the new principles of management exist only in words, while in practice planning proceeds "from what has been achieved," and agro-industrial associations infringe the rights of labor collectives and belittle the role of enterprise leaders and specialists. Not all are sufficiently persistent in switching kolkhozes and sovkhoses to self-capitalization and self-financing. RAPO's are plainly making inadequate efforts to impart a cost-cutting nature to the economic mechanism.

What is holding up restructuring in the agro-industrial complex? The incomplete nature of the management structure, and blunders in forming the rayon link. Thus, various sectorial associations, trusts, and offices which are still in charge of organizations unconnected with RAPO's have been preserved in some places. In some rayons repair, servicing, and construction enterprises have not been transferred to agro-industrial associations. All this creates considerable difficulties, gives rise to bureaucratism and red tape, and prevents kolkhozes and sovkhoses from making full use of the rights granted them.

The unified agro-industrial complex is called upon to ensure a high degree of integration between agriculture and the processing sectors. There is greater mutual understanding between those who produce milk, meat, sugar beets, and cotton and the procurement workers. The search for efficient forms of integration has resulted in the emergence of combines like the "Kuban" and agrofirms. The Novomoskovsk Agro-Industrial Association was formed recently in Tula Oblast. Production and science-and-production systems are being created. All this is deepening the democratization of management of the agro-industrial complex and opening up scope for intensive methods of management.

At the same time, the partners' economic responsibility for the end result is still weak. The comprehensive departments for the production and processing of products that have been organized in RAPO's frequently work without initiative and hardly influence the state of affairs.

Servicing organizations are one of the RAPO's "sore points." So far there have been few changes in their relations with kolkhozes and sovkhoses. For example, complaints are once again being made against enterprises of the former Association for the Sale of Production Equipment for Agriculture -- machinery is repaired slowly and to poor standards. The work of supply workers lacks efficiency. Why do the technical, agrochemical, and other services, which now find themselves under the same roof as farmers, as it were, still not show concern for the latter's needs? The partners' plans are poorly coordinated with farms' claims. Agroservice workers are still concerned, above all, about the volume of services and profits. Some RAPO's let tariffs and rates get out of control and investigate intersectorial ties timidly and uncertainly.

The RAPO is called upon to be a champion of scientific and technical progress. It is not only a matter of propagandizing scientists' achievements and progressive experience. It is important to create on every farm the economic conditions whereby arable farmers and livestock raisers will have an interest in assimilating the most progressive innovations. The skilled use everywhere of intensive techniques and efficient methods of feed production, pedigree breeding, and labor organization and remuneration requires particularly great efforts. [paragraph continues]

It is necessary to accelerate the creation of a unified system of information and computer backup for the agro-industrial complex in order to automate management processes in RAPO's.

The democratization of the economy sets the agro-industrial association's council and working apparatus new tasks. Many production workers rightly believe that the RAPO has not yet become an efficient organ of management. The RAPO council sometimes exists formally, and its decisions are not binding on a number of organizations of dual subordination. Economic planners are not satisfied with the present procedure for planning and distributing resources and appointing RAPO leaders and specialists. The rights of the association council must be substantially widened. The USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and republic and oblast committees have much to do to enhance the RAPO's authority.

The new economic mechanism has an economically accountable basis. Material incentives for every agro-industrial association worker must be directly linked to his contribution to the end results. This is being achieved where a genuine contract system has been assimilated and economic accountability has become the thing for all the collective members. Unfortunately, many RAPO's tolerate formalism in the organization of nonregulated teams and links. Remuneration based on gross income and the check form of cost control have not yet received proper dissemination. Some economic planners "fail to notice" thrifty and assiduous workers, while, at the same time, mismanagement and slovenliness are frequently not punished by ruble fines.

Economic methods squeeze bureaucratic administration and petty tutelage. But the former style of management has not been pensioned off everywhere. For example, the Pakhtakorskiy RAPO of Uzbekistan's Dzhizak Oblast is constantly issuing orders to local levels as to when to begin particular jobs. Certain RAPO's get carried away with summoning specialists to report to the rayon center and to attend all sorts of sessions and send agents to the farms. Many associations manage production not through people but through papers.

The restructuring of the rayon link of the agro-industrial complex is an important concern for rural communists. Still not all agro-industrial associations have found their place today. It is the task of party organizations to help them understand their role. Party raykoms must correctly place cadres and support them by means of organizational and political work. RAPO's also need the assistance of local soviets in resolving social questions -- the construction of housing and roads and the development of trade and the consumer services sphere.

In the 2d year of the 5-year plan working people of the agro-industrial complex are faced with increasing the return from fields and livestock units and taking a new step in the intensification of production. This is a busy time in the spring fields. Every minute of the day is full, and the structure of crop areas sometimes has to be revised as we go along. Having become the headquarters of the sowing campaign, the RAPO must help farmers to choose the right work tactics. Livestock raisers have many urgent tasks -- organizing the summer maintenance of livestock, procuring feed. Conscientious labor by every collective and, not least, concern for improving management and the economic mechanism in the rayon link of the agro-industrial complex will help people to cope successfully with the year's tasks.

PROGRESS-30 LAUNCHED 19 MAY, FUNCTIONING NORMALLY

LD190729 Moscow TASS in English 0719 GMT 19 May 87

[Text] Moscow May 19 TASS -- In accordance with the programme of further work in the orbital research complex Mir, automatic transport ship Progress-30 was launched in the Soviet Union at 8:02 a.m. of Moscow time today. The aim of the launching is to deliver expendable materials and various cargoes to the manned complex Mir. Progress-30 has been put into an orbit with the following parameters: maximum distance from the earth's surface -- 265 km, minimum distance -- 192 km, period of revolution -- 88.8 minutes, inclination of the orbit -- 51.6 degrees. The on-board systems of the automatic ship are functioning normally.

MOSCOW TELEVISION SHOWS ENERGIYA LAUNCH

LD191854 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 16 May 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A report on preparations for the launch and start of the multipurpose launch vehicle Energiya is presented by our special correspondent, Aleksandr Tikhomirov.

[Begin Tikhomirov recording] We took this shot at the beginning of this week, so that you could better understand the scale of the work we are going to discuss. This launch pad can be seen from a distance of tens of kilometers out in the Baykonur steppe. In recent days, everyone who cast a glance at it thought about the main thing, about flight and design tests. Rockets either fly or don't fly, there is no alternative. That is why, despite the fact that each of the eight engines of the new system had passed captive and firing-control tests -- had been "burned-in" [prozhigalsya], as specialists would say -- no one made haste with reports and promises at the meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who was at Baykonur from 11 to 13 May. A report was given: Everything ready for testing. Check and weigh everything once more, the general secretary said. [video shows control rooms with electronic equipment] There certainly is something to check! Telemetric controls monitor 2,000 parameters in this system. There certainly is something to weigh, too. The software and the use of computers in all the preparatory and launch processes is two orders up on previous launches. It simply would be inconceivable to work haphazardly with complexes like this one. All tolerances and gaps in the memory have been filled to the limit. There has been a good deal of nervous energy and many years of work leading up to the short command: Start!, and to switching on the engines. If they have switched on, it means that not the slightest deviation from the 2,000 parameters has been found by the on-board or ground computers, and the launch vehicle will leave the launch pad in good shape. I understand that a most complex task lies ahead; I understand that it is a test and not a holiday, yet I can hardly refrain from adding notes of exultation to this report, as was a tradition at Baykonur about 15 or 20 years ago. Our cameras are situated 12 kilometers from the launch pad now, but it is perhaps 10-fold longer than the safety zone in cases when a rocket with cosmonauts is launched, but also, the power of the engines we are talking about today is more than 10-fold greater. [video shows the launch vehicle standing on the launch pad, an approach road to the pad, and various launch facilities]

It is a season for Baykonur tulips and steppe grass. Already there are statistics showing that most space launches occur in the spring. Just think! The power of the rocket that is to go to space today is 170 million horsepower!

Its launch weight is more than 2,000 tonnes. It is 60 meters high, as high as a 20-story building. One could say that the engines are to push up a full-weight railway train into the sky. There are four engines in the central unit and one engine on each of the four side units. It is precisely these engines that today are the most powerful in the world. [video shows the vehicle on the launch pad]

Now look at the following facts: Hundreds of the country's enterprises have taken part in developing [sozdaniye] this powerful new launch vehicle. New construction materials have been developed [razrabotany] for it, along with new technologies and production units. You can see on the monitors various sections of pipelines and tanks. This is the moment to fuel up the rocket. The fuel is being fed from a cryogenic center. First, tanks in the central unit are filled with nitrogen, forcing the air out, then with hydrogen gas, forcing nitrogen out. This goes on for hours, as if rinsing, and all this is being done so as to leave not a single, microscopic oxygen bubble from the atmosphere in the tank before it is filled with liquid hydrogen, a fuel component, otherwise a reaction will follow immediately as the result of this explosive mixture. [video shows the control room, with the launch vehicle on a monitor, and people in the room]

Liquid oxygen is going to other tanks simultaneously, along another circuit; the two fuel components will meet only in the combustion chamber for exploding. What if this happens at an earlier stage? What if a leak occurs? So you can imagine how air-tight must be not only rocket units inside, but every pipe outside, and for hundreds of meters. This is just one of the problems that must be solved here. [video shows the launch pad]

The new launch vehicle is now shrouded in frost, in the middle of a fairly warm steppe. It is terrifying even to imagine how low the temperature is inside the rocket, in the tanks. Technological telecameras positioned near the launch pad are working now, while our Central Television Cameras now, at night, can discern the launching pad as only a faraway spot of light, but it is only a moment before the start command is given. [video shows Tikhomirov with a microphone, then returns to the monitor, on which the launch vehicle can be seen]

Let us remember this day. It will remain forever in the history of Soviet cosmonautics. Baykonur has seen a lot over its 30 years, but nothing like this. This is a new stage. It is a new launch vehicle laying down the foundation for putting into orbit multi-use craft and 100-tonne blocks of amazing structures, from which orbital towns will be assembled. [video shows the launch]

COSMONAUTS' 15TH WEEK NOTED, PROCEEDING NORMALLY

LD151038 Moscow TASS in English 1026 GMT 15 May 87

[Text] Moscow May 15 TASS -- A TASS correspondent reports from the Mission Control Centre:

Yuriy Romanenko's and Aleksandr Laveykin's work in orbit has entered the fifteenth week.

The flight programme for the past days included activities to reactivate the Kvant module, to check the functioning of its scientific instrumentation, to observe and survey individual areas of the Soviet Union's territory, and medical check-ups.

The cosmonauts tested in operation the module's electron apparatus which is one of the elements of the system for maintaining the gaseous composition of the atmosphere inside the manned orbital complex and for obtaining oxygen through the electrolysis of water.

Today the crew continue preparing the astrophysical module for scientific research. Technical experiments and routine servicing of on-board systems of the station are planned as well.

Tomorrow Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Laveykin will have a day off. During radio and television communications session they will talk to their families.

The two cosmonauts are feeling well.

The flight of the Mir manned orbital complex is proceeding normally.

MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS ON DIGITAL EQUIPMENT

LD161049 Moscow TASS in English 0819 GMT 16 May 87

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS -- Soviet television and radio broadcasting systems are beginning the transfer to digital methods of signal processing. This opens up new opportunities of the development and qualitative improvement of the communication system of the country, Erlen Pervyshin, USSR minister of communication, has said in a TASS interview.

Digital studio equipment is being introduced at the TV centre of Leningrad. Experiments with digital radio broadcasting were conducted in Leningrad and in Tallinn, capital of the Soviet Republic of Estonia. The creation of equipment for digital television of a new generation is being completed. In the future it will replace present-day television. These measures will permit to considerably improve technical facilities used for the reception, processing and transmission of information, which is especially important in the period of the reorganization this country is living through.

A practical stage-by-stage introduction of digital radio broadcasting will be started in the USSR in the current Five-Year Plan period (1986-1990), the Soviet minister of communication said. This will help to resolve the problem of spreading stereophonic radio broadcasting to the whole of the country which stretches from the East to the West by a distance covering 11 time belts. The introduction of digital television will permit [us] to use communication channels more effectively, to increase the number of programs and to improve the quality of their image and sound.

The improvement of communication systems is of major importance for the Soviet Union with its enormous territory. The TV communication system alone includes 6,500 transmission stations, 100 orbital reception stations, over 4,000 stations integrated in the Ekran Moskva satellite communication systems, as well as 120 TV centres transmitting programs in 42 languages of nations and nationalities inhabiting this country.

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VII. WESTERN EUROPE DAILY REPORT

VIII. SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA DAILY
REPORT

Contents unchanged

Renamed; formerly SOUTH ASIA DAILY
REPORT; contents include:

International Affairs

Inter-African Affairs

Central Africa

Burundi

Cameroon

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Congo

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Malawi

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